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OXFORD CATHEDRAL

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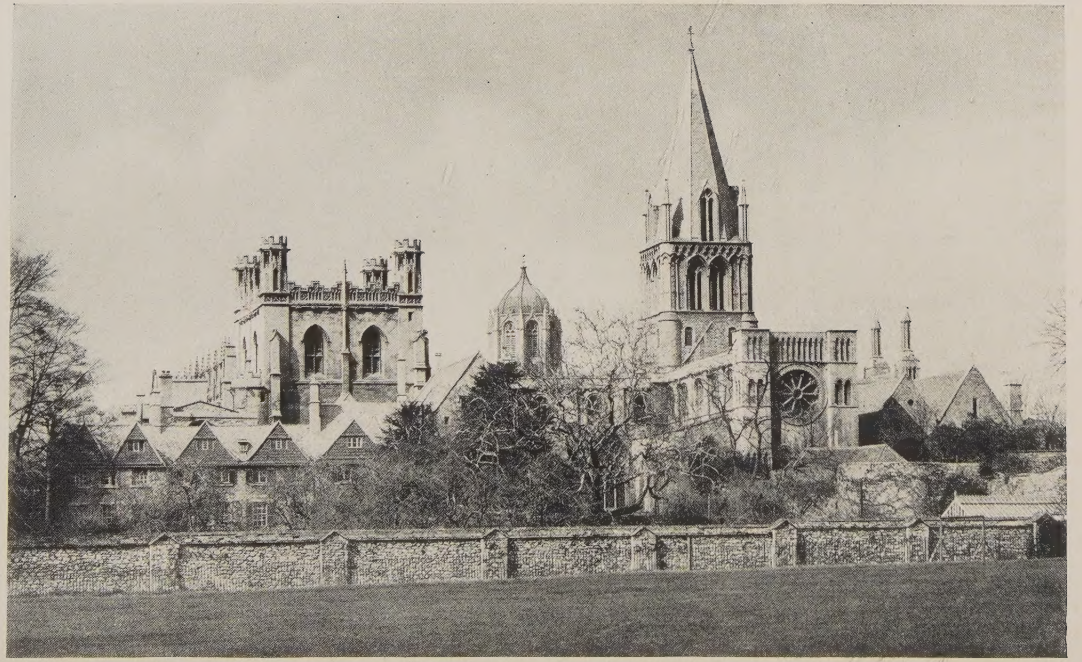

Photograph] [*G. Chaundy*

OXFORD CATHEDRAL : THE EAST END

OXFORD CATHEDRAL

BY

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Illustrations in Line are by the Author

LONDON

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE

NEW YORK AND TORONTO: THE MACMILLAN CO.

1924

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
THE CAMPFIELD PRESS, ST. ALBANS

PREFACE

Like the author's companion volume on "Canterbury," this book aims at being a more or less full account in a general way of what there is to be seen and known about this Cathedral. It does not, of course, pretend to be the complete word, but it does set out to cover the ground carefully and to afford some information at any rate about most things which may have an interest for pilgrims to the shrine of St. Frideswide. Nor is it all to be taken for original work, as the bibliography and references in the text will make clear; indeed, it has not been possible to acknowledge all the many details obtained from elsewhere, and therefore the authorities mentioned at the end are here offered a grateful, if perforce comprehensive, recognition. Certain persons are, of course, entitled to definite mention, and the author would therefore like to offer his very best thanks to the Dean and Chapter for kind permission to ramble at will over the Cathedral, to have photographs taken, to make drawings, and to reproduce in colour the glass detail from St. Lucy's Chapel; to the Rev. E. W. Watson, D.D., Regius

Professor of Ecclesiastical History, for much kind help over various points, together with valuable criticism upon what is found under the heading, " Officials and Services " ; to the Rev. H. E. Salter, M.A., the *locus classicus* upon Oxford topography, for full and prompt answers to questions set him in a small examination paper ! to Mr. Falconer Madan, M.A., sometime Bodley's Librarian, for taking the trouble to run his eye over the Bibliography and other items ; to Mr. Charles J. Parker for the generous loan of his father's notes upon, and plans of, the Cathedral ; to the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society for kind permission to reproduce two plans from their Proceedings relative to the Harrison-Parker controversy ; to Mr. William Francis, assistant librarian, and head verger of the Cathedral, whose enthusiastic interest and most friendly help in all sorts of ways, to say nothing of his admirable photographs reproduced with his permission, have been quite invaluable ; and to the Keeper of the Department of Printed Books at the British Museum for kindly allowing reproduction of the music of Dean Aldrich's catch on the Christ Church bells.

Two things should be pointed out. Firstly, that the periods of architecture referred to are those generally in use, viz. Norman, c.1070–1160 ; Early English, c.1190–1272 ; Decorated, c.1300–1377 ;

Perpendicular and Tudor, c.1380–1547, subject to the proviso that allowance must be made for transition periods where one style overlapped another. Secondly, attention is directed to the condensed guide, quite at the end of the book, arranged so as to be easily detachable for the purpose of a short and hurried visit, should such a misfortune be really unavoidable!

S. A. W.

1924.

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Photographer to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, etc., to whom thanks are also due for use of the two photographs by the late Mr. H. W. Taunt.

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OXFORD CATHEDRAL

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

TO write about Oxford, the "Cinderella" of English Cathedrals, is, to a member of the University, a two-fold pleasure. In the first place, "the far famed Citty Oxford being sweetly hugg'd in ye pleasant Arms of those two pure Rivers—the Tems and Charwell—whose timely floods inrich ye meadows with excellent herbage," as Thomas Baskerville says, must always have an everlasting fascination for all her true sons. It may perhaps be doubted whether filial affection would wish to put quite so much emphasis upon the floods, herbage or no herbage, although it must be remembered that the amount of water "out" during the winter in these days of modern drainage would be hardly noticeable as compared with what Baskerville saw when writing at the end of the seventeenth century. In any case most visitors come in the summer, when floods "are not," and when the thousand and one beauties, whether of nature's or man's contriving, call imperiously for their admiration and their homage, and to which an Oxford man is only too proud to direct attention. This, then, brings us to the second pleasure for the writer, namely, the chance of setting out in detail the interest and charm

of one of the sights of Oxford, which, even now, by no means gains all the appreciation it deserves.

That this Cathedral, one of the smallest in England, should have suffered from the neglect of the passer-by is not altogether surprising, for it is an anomaly of that strange kind which somehow seems only to be found in such a place as Oxford. It is, as is well known, at once the Cathedral Church of the diocese and also the Chapel of the College of Christ Church, originally founded by Cardinal Wolsey. This strange mixture of both a public and private function has tended to keep the building in the background in more senses than one. Physically this is evident, for, as the Chapel, it is hidden within the walls of the College, and therefore is less obviously open to public inspection, while the exclusiveness of preceding centuries endeavoured to magnify its position as the College Chapel at the expense of its character as the Cathedral. Its small size and secluded situation have combined to give an impression of insignificance, which found no favour with the snobbery of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and led writers of those days to belittle it, nay, rather even to vilify it in a kind of crescendo of abuse. Descriptions of the building begin mildly with the aforementioned Baskerville, who merely says that it "is grown old and of small remark." Ayliffe, writing in 1714, can find practically nothing to say upon the Cathedral, dismissing it in about six lines, and referring to its "plainness and rudeness." Brown Willis says bluntly, "It is truly no elegant structure," while Rowley Lascelles, in 1821, gives a most indifferent

account, winding up with saying that "upon the whole nothing can be more hideous to good taste than the whole of this very barbarous edifice." It is true that there was some justification for this vituperation. The form of Duppa's quire stalls, the ugly screens at the west end of the northern chapels, and the verger's house in the south transept, were indeed undesirable and disfiguring; but even so the main building was, and is, very fine, with a quire vaulting second to none. It was left to a more discriminating writer to the "Ecclesiologist" in 1847 to pierce beyond the monstrosities and to see and appreciate the good work of earlier days. His article criticizes sternly both building and services, or, rather, lack of the latter; but at the same time he complains that so few people outside took any interest in, nay, indeed, even seemed to know of, the Cathedral, and calls it "almost a newly discovered church." To-day things are very different. The "horrors" have been cleared away and "restoration," whatever may be thought of it, has at least brought back decency and dignity, so that it is now indeed Cathedral as well as College Chapel. If, therefore, the visitor shall leave this city without coming to pay his respects to the Shrine of St. Frideswide, he will be making a very great mistake.

How this ancient building comes to fill its dual *rôle*, and how, indeed, it has even survived to this day will be made clearer later on; meanwhile a little anticipation of what is there said must be made in order that it may be understood how this church in the first place came into existence.

About the end of the seventh century there was in this locality a small prince or ruler by name Didan, with his wife Safrida. To them was born a daughter, Frideswide (the " Bond of Peace "), who, under the tuition of Algiva, Abbess of Winchester, and, by tradition, of St. Cecilia and St. Catherine of Alexandria, quickly became famous for her intelligence and sweetness of disposition. In those rough days it was a common thing for women who had the means to take the veil, either in an existing nunnery or by founding one of their own, in order that they might lead a less barbarous life. Frideswide, by her broader education, would naturally be still more disposed both to refuse marriage and also to take upon her the life of a religious. However, the future saint, it is to be feared, showed at first a most improper pride, for, on the ground of her birth and training, she declined to enter any existing institution, where she would necessarily start by being subject to those whom she considered her inferiors. Ultimately she prevailed upon her father to found a nunnery specially for her, where she was to be the head over twelve virgins of noble birth, and this he did upon the banks of the Thames, somewhere about where Christ Church now stands. The church of this nunnery Didan dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the Immaculate Virgin Mary, and All Saints, and some would like to find a small fragment of this building still remaining, as will be shown in detail early in the following chapter. In due time Didan and Safrida died, and then, perchance because of her former pride, the troubles of Frideswide began. Algar, the prince of Leicester,

had long heard stories of Frideswide's beauty and virtues, and now wished to marry her. To this end he sent messengers bearing his proposal, who, after being continually refused, tried one night to break into the nunnery and take Frideswide away by force. The story goes that as they were climbing over the wall Frideswide was miraculously aroused, and upon her earnest prayer to heaven for protection the intruders were suddenly struck blind, and ran out into the town, shouting in terror. The next day, upon their humble entreaty, their sight was restored to them by Frideswide, and they returned to Algar with the tale of their adventures. This so excited his wrath that he determined to come and seize Frideswide himself, and started off with a band of armed men. Meanwhile Frideswide had again received a warning, and, with two of her fellows, slipped away by night down to the river, where they found a boat awaiting them, and in it a mysterious figure in white. Hurriedly getting in, they pushed off, and soon found themselves gliding up the stream to a place some ten miles or so away, called Bentona, which is generally thought to be Bampton, although the Bollandists prefer to call it Abingdon. Here the fugitives landed, and, plunging into the thick woods hard by, were finally guided to a rude hut or byre overgrown with ivy, once used as a shelter for swine. Here they lay for some years while Frideswide gradually gained notoriety among the local people for her works of charity, especially in the way of healing diseases. In due time Frideswide and her companions moved nearer to Oxford and settled at Binsey, formerly called Thornbery, near Godstow,

where she founded a second small nunnery and added to her reputation for good deeds by many cures for blindness. Ant. à Wood says, " Here also neare the said oratory " (i.e. Binsey) " she by her fervent imprecations caused a spring to burst forth purposely to satisfie their thirst and necessityes. Both which (I meane the spring and the chappell with the aedifices adjoyning) . . . are to this day . . . remaining and made use of by the men of Binsey as their parochial church." The tiny well was long said to work cures for blindness and lameness, and still remains outside the west end of the church. It has also been called St. Margaret's Well because Frideswide built the church in honour of that saint. Frideswide then returned to Oxford, and again Algar sought her. This time he laid siege to the town, and it looked to go hard with the inhabitants until, upon his entry, Frideswide prayed yet once more for help, so that sudden blindness fell also upon him, as it had previously done upon his messengers. Similarly the story repeats itself in pardon craved and mercy shown by the restoration of the tormentor's sight and the final abandonment of his pretensions to her hand. Thus vindicated, Frideswide's fame for charity and piety increased apace, and, as Ant. à Wood amusingly says, "All whatsoever was requisite from a saint was (though much opposed by Satan) with all due observance rendered to her Maker." She is variously said to have died c.730 to 754 and to have been buried at Binsey, or at any rate in an "obscure place," and c.1480 was canonized.

It will, of course, be taken for granted that too much faith must not be placed in the above story.

All is legendary, although, like all legends, there is the usual core of true history, but it is so grown round with inventions as to be hardly recognizable ; for, as Mr. Parker points out, the duplication of the miracle of blinding and so on goes to show confusion in the copying of one chronicler by another.

St. Frideswide's nunnery did not long survive her, and with varying fortunes became alternately the property of secular canons and monks from Abingdon or elsewhere, until about 1120 regular canons of St. Augustine were finally installed and the real history of the foundation begins. Then came the suppression by Wolsey for his great educational scheme. When the proud cardinal fell his only thought was for the preservation of his cherished College, still unfinished, and Henry so far met his wishes that the foundation was saved but reconstituted with lessened endowments and with the King as founder. Subsequently the King added to the College the dignity of a bishop's seat, solely from motives of economy, it is true, and thus this curious building stands to-day in twofold guise—a Cathedral and a College Chapel.

The Exterior

Largely surrounded as it is by canons' gardens and buildings, the Cathedral shows but little of its exterior to the ordinary visitor. It will, therefore, be well before closing this chapter to point out shortly such externals as can be seen, together also with what little is left of the monastic buildings.

On entering Tom Quad the visitor may well look round and wonder for the moment where the Cathedral is until he sees the spire rising above the roofs directly in front (illus. opp.). Below are two cavernous openings leading to the interior, but, leaving these on the left for the moment, the visitor is advised to make for the archway in the south-east corner adjoining. Here on his way through he cannot but pause to admire the elegant single column soaring up to support the vaulting over the staircase to the Hall. The work may be open to the criticism that the tracery is weak and flat looking, but when the late date of its erection (1640) is considered, it will probably be allowed that Dean Samuel Fell's building has very considerable merit and undeniable charm. Its connexion with the Cathedral is the fact that above this vaulting is the belfry containing the ring of twelve bells (p. 133). Passing through to the left and down the steps, the visitor finds himself at once in the cloister garth with a very good view of the rather diminutive cloisters, above which rises the tower and short, thick-set spire (opp. p. 16). Opposite is a row of gables, of which that immediately to the south of the transept belongs to the chapter house, while the remainder, although some 300 years old themselves, nevertheless do but mark the site of the prior's house and canons' dormitory. The building to the right on the south side of the cloisters is the original fifteenth-century refectory, afterwards known and used as the "Old Library." This can be seen a good deal better by walking through the cloisters and bearing to the right down a passage which gives

Photograph] [*Photochrom Co.*

TOM QUAD

on to a quadrangle beyond. Note just at the end of this passage two interesting late Perpendicular windows with curiously rigid-looking rectangular tracery. On reaching this quadrangle, and looking back, the whole elevation and original buttresses of the lofty frater, or refectory, can be seen (opp. p. 164), together with the interesting bulge in one of the latter denoting the presence of the pulpit or reading desk inside, whence "improving" books were read to the monks during their meals. The entrance to the refectory was formerly up steps from the passage just passed through. At the west end traces of a doorway leading to the undercroft can be made out, together with what must have been a large window above. From being the library, this building in 1775 was adapted with sash windows on the south side, the original windows remain on the north, for undergraduates' rooms, and the ground floor arranged as a lecture room. This last in 1829 was also turned into rooms, and for this purpose the whole is still used to-day.

CLOISTER PASSAGE WINDOW

It may further be noted that the visitor is now standing in what was formerly called the "Chaplains' Quadrangle," from the fact that the chaplains

or minor canons had rooms near by. The " Meadow Buildings " along the south side occupy roughly the site of the old monastic infirmary. The latter had been superseded about 1638 by " fair lodgings of polished freestone," erected by Philip King, auditor of Christ Church. These had been burnt down in 1669 and replaced in 1672–8 by what were known as " Fell's Buildings " or the " Garden Staircase," which, in their turn, have given way (1863–5) to Mr. Thomas Deane's pseudo-Venetian-Gothic pile of unpleasing appearance. The above-mentioned fire did a considerable amount of damage, notably to the lodgings attached to the third prebendal stall, with the result that the fine house boasting a gigantic sundial just through " Kill Canon " was built to compensate that prebendary. We are told that it has become known as the *præbenda vivax* on account of the longevity of the occupiers of that stall, but if so, then the draughty archway " Kill Canon " belies its name !

Two other points of view are easy of access, one of the east end from Merton meadows (frontispiece), the other close up under the south-east angle of the Cathedral, reached through a door in St. Lucy's Chapel (opp. p. 24). The former is little more than a pleasing general view, but the latter provides several points of interest. In the first place it affords examples of all the four usual periods of architecture. To the right is the wall of the south quire aisle, of which the lower half is Norman, with a coeval door in the corner concealed by a climbing shrub. In the centre is the Norman tower, with its Early English upper story. The reticulated

window tracery of St. Lucy's Chapel is a fair example of the Decorated period, while the Perpendicular style is represented by the clerestory windows of the quire inserted into the still remaining Norman wall with typical pilaster buttresses. The door above referred to has a round label and plain soffit beneath, with a moulded impost of late design, which seems formerly to have been carried on as a kind of string course along the wall. This door has been blocked up at a later date with rough masonry, including a worked stone with chevron ornament. The cill is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. above the present ground level, and the head comes to within 1 ft. or 15 in. of the actual base of Bishop King's window. There is no trace of this doorway on the internal wall of the aisle.

Views of the north side of the Cathedral are not easy to obtain. That across Canon Ottley's garden (opp. p. 32) shows the unfinished aisle of the nave and the weatherworn figure of St. Frideswide in the pinnacle at the corner of the transept aisle; while the somewhat similar view (opp. p. 136) over the garden of the deanery is taken from a window in the library.

CHAPTER II

Review of Architecture

THIS chapter will deal chronologically with the main architectural features, and the next will take the visitor on a little tour to point out the smaller details of interest.

Saxon

Up to about thirty-five years ago the architecture of Oxford Cathedral caused no particular excitement in the antiquarian mind. It has been already shown that in the past the Cathedral received little more than silent contempt or actual abuse, but Sir Gilbert Scott's work brought it into prominence, and it was but a very few years after his time that this, shall we say, archaeological slumber was rudely disturbed by the devastating theories of the late Mr. James Park Harrison. Then rose the giants from their sleep, and a war of words began for and against his novel suggestions. Indeed, it will be casting no aspersion upon the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society and its good work to-day if the thought be ventured that never before or since have the members received so much value for their annual subscription as they must have done in the halcyon days of the Harrison–Parker controversy!

Possibly at this point the reader's heart may fail

him or her at the prospect of having to wade through interminably wordy contests about a few rough, if ancient, stones. The trouble can only be avoided, it is to be feared, by a judicious skimming of what is written under this heading; for, if a reasonably full account of the Cathedral is to be provided, these theories, containing as they do much ingenuity and interest, must at least be set out shortly, together with the opposite views thereon. For the comfort of the weaker brethren it may be said that the next chapter will give sufficient information as to the architecture to enable a general working idea of "what is what" and "when was when" to be obtained!

Here, then, we will start with the east wall of the Lady Chapel and aisle on the north side of the quire, which was the first part of the building to be attacked by Mr. Harrison.

In the preceding chapter the story of Didan and his founding of a nunnery somewhere about the year 727 has been related, and the question which Mr. Harrison set out to answer was whether or no this east wall might be considered to be original remains of Didan's church. From the inside it will be seen to be composed of ragstone, with two rudely shaped round-headed archways, and a thirteenth-century multi-columned pier between them. Outside, the arches are also visible, and between them, backing on to the thirteenth-century pier, is an ordinary Norman pilaster buttress. As a matter of fact, it was while the windows above were one day being altered that the primitive nature of the work below became apparent and caught the eye of

Mr. Francis, the head verger, who reported his discovery to the dean. Thinking that this might be Saxon work, Mr. Harrison obtained permission in 1887 to excavate the ground outside to see if any traces of apses could be found. The results of his excavations he communicated the next year by papers in the Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society and in the "Archaeological Journal."

Opposite the southern arch, and about 6 ft. away, he found what he considered to be a curved foundation wall of rubble with gravel concrete, the south end of which had been destroyed by the north wall of the Norman sacrarium or sanctuary. Somewhat similar discoveries were made opposite the northern opening, although in this case the walling was much more rudimentary and rather nearer the main building than that on the south. In the central part, between the two doorways, excavation on the same line as the other foundations produced only scattered fragments of stone, but, a few feet farther out, he came upon some stonework about 2 ft. thick, which he took to be the foundations of a central apse. In view of this he, in conjunction with Mr. (now Sir) Arthur Evans, at that time keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, examined carefully the Norman buttress, and they both came to the conclusion that this buttress was built over a central opening slightly wider than itself. They found, *inter alia*, an early rounded string course passing behind the buttress which had been hollowed out to receive it, and considered this as proof that the wall is at any rate older than the buttress. It will be seen inside that the cill of the

south opening is nearly 2 ft. below the present, i.e. the Norman, level of the pavement, and also that these doorways are not of equal height or width. Both have imposts carried through the thickness of the wall.

Apart from the discovery of stone foundations, Mr. Harrison found inside these apses, and nowhere else, a good deal of charcoal (stated by experts to be birchwood) and much stone reddened by the action of fire, which, he suggested, is proof that these apses were part of the church, which was deliberately fired by the people in 1002 in order to kill the Danes within it. These traces of burning are a distinctly important argument. As far as documentary evidence goes, there is no record of any later conflagration, and therefore they suggest a strong probability that these apses may be of eighth-century date.

To sum up, therefore, quite shortly. Mr. Harrison's suggestion was that this eastern wall of the north quire aisle and Lady Chapel is eighth-century Saxon work, furnished with the remains of three apses externally, and forming all that is left of Didan's church, supposedly enlarged by St. Frideswide. He admitted that the variation between the north and south openings hinted at a slight difference in date between them, one of them possibly being the addition of the prince's daughter. In his opinion the doorways were blocked up by the Normans at the time of building their east end. He explained the existence of three apses, of which no other example is known in the west at so early a date, by suggesting that their appearance was

probably due to the influence of Archbishop Theodore, who, coming as he did from Tarsus, was accustomed to a triple apsidal ending to his local churches in the East.

Mr. Harrison's chief opponent was the late Mr. James Parker, the collaborator with his father in that ever valuable work, the "Introduction to Gothic Architecture."

In Mr. Parker's opinion these arches were nothing more nor less than masons' doors in a partly Norman and partly Early English wall; that is to say, openings left to enable workmen to bring in building materials direct to that particular part. Such doorways were common enough at all periods, a fifteenth-century example being provided in the western aisle of the north transept of this very Cathedral (visible only from the outside), and they are in general use to-day. This opinion Mr. Harrison combated by pointing out how narrow the archways are (about 2ft. 6in. only) for such a purpose, to say nothing of the fact that the presence of imposts in both, and a returned plinth in the south doorway as well, argued a method of building too careful for a mere opening for such a temporary and utilitarian purpose. Mr. Parker further showed that the north wall of the present admittedly Norman sanctuary is carefully bonded into the disputed east wall, and argued that this fact, together with the continuation of the same plinth round both walls, proved that they must be of similar date, viz. the twelfth century. As regards the plinth, Mr. Parker said that the south doorway had evidently been cut through it, but that it had to a great extent been replaced when the opening

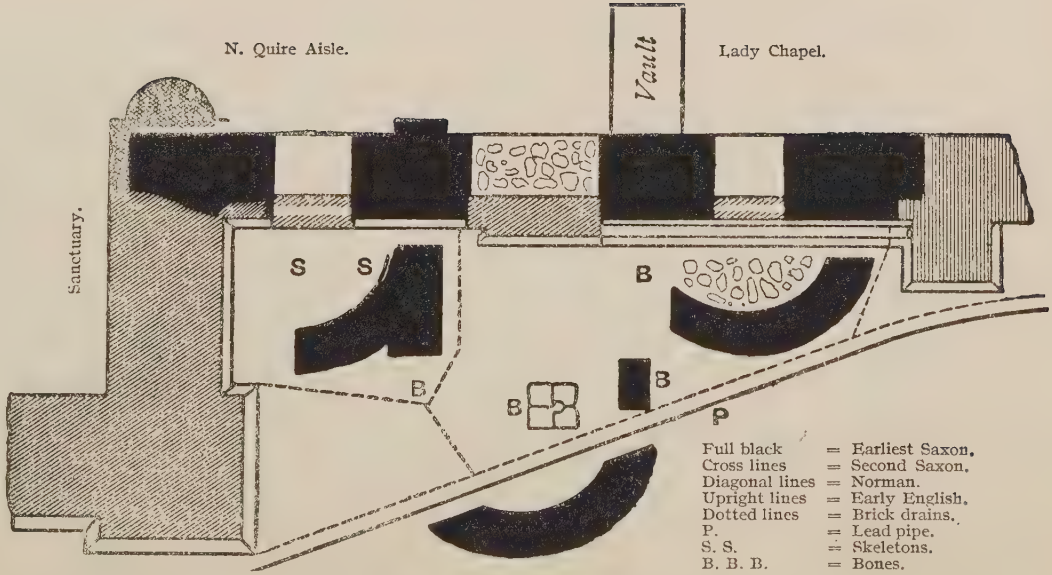
Photograph] [*H. Taunt*

VIEW FROM CLOISTER GARTH

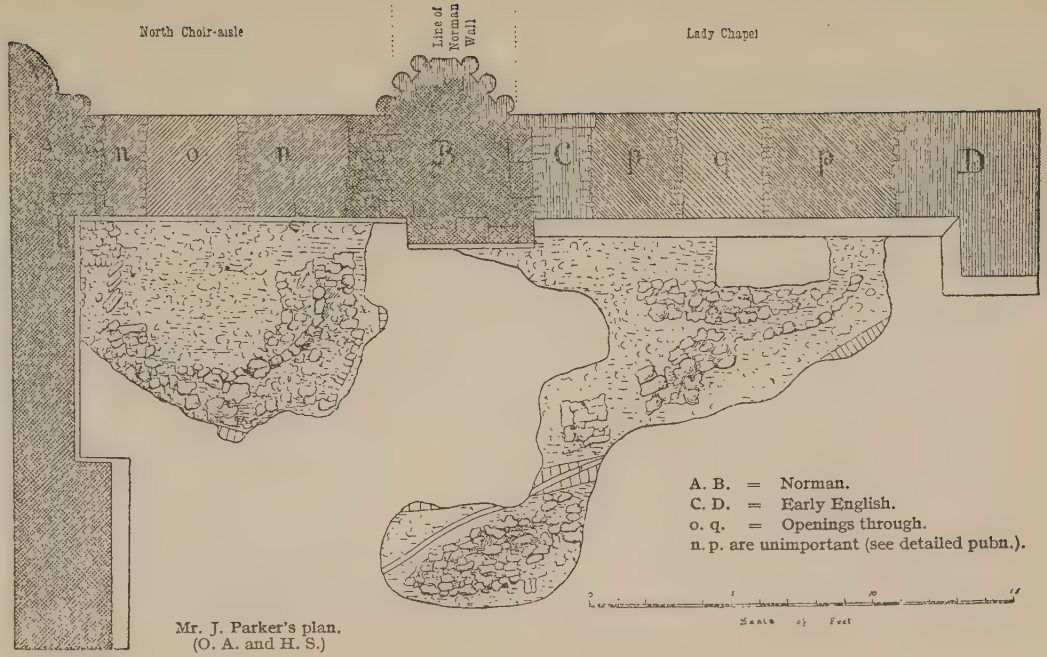
was filled up, while the northern door had not been cut through the plinth at all. Note, by the way, that at the latter spot the plinth is of a different type from that in the south bay and sanctuary. Mr. Harrison, unable to deny the later date of the plinth, was driven to assume that it had been inserted by the Normans below the rough walling, a piece of work most difficult to do and more troublesome than pulling down the whole wall and rebuilding afresh. Furthermore, Mr. Parker was convinced that the east wall and plinth of the Lady Chapel were in point of fact thirteenth century, like the chapel itself, built up against the Norman buttress, which, as in the case of the south quire aisle, was at the corner of the Norman work. To which Mr. Harrison replied that the shape of the coping gave no evidence that it had been a corner buttress. Thus, so far as the walls are concerned, it will be seen that the opinions of these two gentlemen were diametrically opposed.

With regard to the apsidal foundations, there was also a good deal of disagreement. Mr. Parker made his own measurements of the excavations, and brought out a plan showing in detail where the more important stones lay, with the result that he felt himself able to agree in part only with Mr. Harrison's theories. Opposite the buttress and north door he could find nothing sufficiently definite to be really like foundations, but opposite the south door he was able to say that " possibly we have here the traces of the northern apse of an earlier church."

To support him, Mr. Harrison produced the late Sir W. H. St. John Hope, who was able to examine

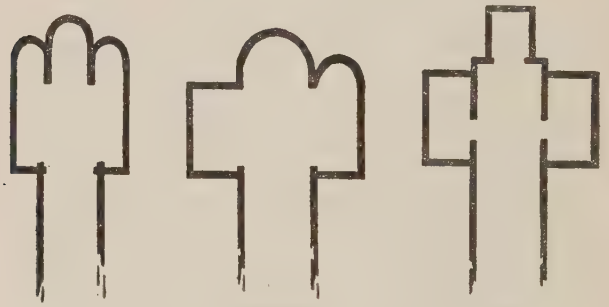


Mr. J. P. Harrison's plan.
(O. A. and H. S.)



Mr. J. Parker's plan.
(O. A. and H. S.)

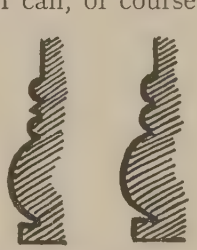
the remains opposite the northern doorway, and who expressed himself as satisfied that they were those of an apse. In more recent times Mr. Harold Brakspear, F.S.A., also seems to be on his side. Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, the well-known London architect, and a close student of Saxon work, was also of opinion that there were three Saxon apses, but declined to date them earlier than the restoration by Ethelred in 1004, after the fire of two years



MICKLETHWAITE PLANS

previously. He also denied Mr. Harrison's idea that this had been a three-aisled church, on the ground that such a thing was unknown elsewhere in England. He preferred to suggest that Oxford was after the style of Dover, with the apsidal idea taken from Deerhurst, and in B.Mus. : Add. : MS. 37510 gives plans of all three churches, of which the accompanying drawing is a rough copy. Professor Baldwin Brown, another expert on pre-Norman work of all kinds, writing in 1903 in Vol. II of his "Arts in Early England," seems also to agree as to the apses, but he, too, would assign them to a

later date, say between A.D. 800 and the Conquest. Both these last-named authorities, it will be observed, are willing to give the remains a Saxon origin, but of a date later than Mr. Harrison would wish. In this connexion the Bodleian MS. Laud 114 has remarks of some interest. It relates how that after the burning of the church King Ethelred "increased the circuit of the church as he had known it," and as the two archways admittedly differ from each other it is possible that one might be Ethelred's work. If so, it must have been the southern apse, because the MS. further says that St. Frideswide had been buried on the south side of the original church, and the king's addition had the effect of making her tomb to be in the centre. Other authorities, among them Mr. Francis Bond, hesitate to commit themselves, mainly on general grounds. Unfortunately in these days the modern inquirer is much handicapped. The wall itself can, of course, be examined inside and out, but after the lapse of thirty odd years weather and what looks like repointing have combined to change a good deal of the external face of the wall, while the foundations of the debatable apses were long ago covered over, and to-day nothing of them can be seen. If any reader wishes to go further into the matter he will find all the arguments of both sides fully set out in the Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society for 1887–9.



Central Shaft Side Shaft

TURNED BASES

Apart from the possible east wall, the only relics of Saxon times are three shafts with turned bases in a western triforium window of the south transept, and a tomb slab in the gallery near by, both of which will be explained by the illustrations, and can be examined simultaneously by going up into the said gallery. In respect of these shafts, it is to be noticed that at one time they have been grooved to take some window-filling material, and the grooves afterwards filled in with cement.

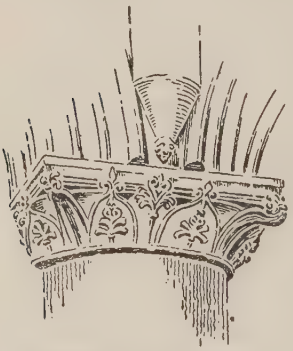
Norman

The almost universal opinion with regard to Oxford Cathedral is that it dates for the most part from late in the third quarter of the twelfth century. One or two authorities, including Mr. James Parker and Mr. Harold Brakspear, share the opinion that the Normans have had here more than one spell of building. Mr. Parker found proof of this in the unusual design of an inner or sub arch carrying a blocked triforium with a main arch over, which he did not think could be the work of a single architect. At the same time he admitted that he had never had time to make a minute examination and was not prepared to say where the earlier work ended and where the later began. Mr. Brakspear for his part sees remains of this earlier work in the interruption to the jointing of the vault just by the south-east tower pier, which he thinks indicates addition or alteration. In the north side of the sanctuary also there would seem to have been some change, for there the window cuts into the string course coming from the neighbouring capital in a

way that could not have been originally intended. Subject, however, to these qualifications, modern opinion agrees in assigning the main part of the fabric, as already mentioned, to the latter half of the twelfth century. The Cathedral actually consists of a sanctuary of one bay, a quire of four bays, with aisles of the same length on either side, the crossing under the tower with that rare feature aisled transepts north and south, the former of three bays, the latter with an eastward chapel, a nave of four bays with aisles of the same length on either side, and one more bay westward to the nave only something in the way of an antechapel. Beyond the north quire aisle are two chapels, one the Lady Chapel and the other the Latin Chapel, both of which are of later dates and have absorbed the eastern aisle and chapels of the north transept. It is perhaps a little difficult at first to realize that the westernmost bays of these two chapels are really the eastern aisle of the transept, but the vaulting and other details show that this is so ; and it is clear from the remains of masonry in the second bay on the south side of the Latin Chapel that this aisle projected at least one bay farther east, in which was probably an altar (opp. p. 184).

The outstanding feature is the peculiarity that the piers do not, as is usually the case, end in a capital, from which springs the main arch carrying the triforium. Here the column goes right up to take the arch sustaining the *clerestory*, the triforium itself being carried by a sub-arch springing from half capitals set lower down on the main column and as much outwards as possible. To any one, therefore,

standing at the west end and looking east there is thus given an impression of greater height than is really the case, for the eye is carried up above the normal level, missing out, as it were, the triforium stage altogether. Mr. Francis Bond has said that the reason for this unusual arrangement was due to the comparatively low height of the building; for, if the bays had been divided into the three equal parts of arcade, triforium, and clerestory, as was customary with Norman builders, the stages would have looked too squat and ill-proportioned, and so the difficulty was thus ingeniously got over.



NAVE: HALF CAPITAL

This brings us to the capitals, which are of an extraordinarily interesting character. In the first place, from the nature of the scheme, they are only half circles, and it will be noticed that they are not merely one capital divided in two, because few, if any, of the halves correspond. The carvings upon them are most uncommon and varied, and although individual details can be found elsewhere, they may, taken as a whole, be considered as a unique collection of forms of decoration tinged with an Eastern influence which are well worth very careful study. Foliage will be found on every capital from simple stiff-leaved "caulicoli" in the south quire aisle to an elaborate almost fleur-de-lis design in the nave. In the quire three and a half capitals

Photograph] [*G. Chaundy*

THE SOUTH-EAST CORNER

are especially noticeable for a type of ornamentation quite different from all the rest, namely, interlacing scrolls and sprouts of foliage. One of them has for volutes two charming and dainty little faces. At the crossing under the tower it will be noticed that two of the arches are unexpectedly pointed, merely due to the fact that the transepts are narrower than quire and nave. The stage of the tower immediately above them is also of this late Norman period and has a pleasing but simple arcading on each face internally. On all four sides of the exterior can be seen the weathering of a roof line of steep pitch, which in every case cuts into and through the circular corner turrets and so suggests a roof of later date. This tower, as Willis pointed out, was almost certainly built before 1172, because a remark in Prior Philip's "De Miraculis S. Fridewidae" shows that a mysterious light was believed to have issued from the saint's relics and to have been seen shining over the tower eight years before her translation, which took place in 1180. The only other visible piece of Norman work is the west end of the Chapter House, of which the doorway is enriched with four lines of simple chevron moulding, and with a line of bead ornament between two plain roll mouldings, carried on either side by a nook shaft with scalloped or ornamented capitals. The outermost order of all bears a kind of conventional horse-shoe pattern.

QUIRE: HALF CAPITAL

Other points to note are that there are on the stonework distinct traces of fire, but whether from the conflagration of the twelfth or seventeenth century is uncertain, and that the doorway has at some time been raised, if not rebuilt, by a foot or more, for the zigzag mouldings do not carry right down to the bottom, and the bases of the shafts do not agree with their capitals. On either side are two round-headed openings restored approximately to what was their original form.

Having briefly set out the prevailing opinion as to the date of the main part of the building, it is now necessary to review the theory, more ingenious than probable, of the late Mr. J. Park Harrison.

Stated quite shortly it amounts to this, that, by reading Ethelred's Charter of 1004, wherein the king is said to have enlarged the church, in conjunction with certain details in the present building, Mr. Harrison came to the conclusion that this must refer to the present quire and aisles, with possibly a little piece westward, and that therefore we have here a Saxon church enlarged and heightened by the Normans. He maintained, among other things, as proof of his assertion, that (1) there is no record of Ethelred's church ever having been pulled down; (2) the break of joint by the south-east tower pier (cf. p. 22); (3) arches springing from half capitals are found in an eleventh-century MS.; (4) the three weatherworn capitals in the quire much older than the rest, which suggests that they were *in situ* and exposed to the weather when the church was allowed to go to ruin in the middle of the eleventh century; (5) masonry on the upper part of the south-east

tower pier has criss-cross tooling, which is characteristic of Saxon workmanship; (6) the grooved shafts in the triforium of the south transept (cf. p. 22) are proof that the triforium is really the earlier clerestory; (7) masonry near these shafts differs from that used elsewhere; (8) the large size for a Saxon church to be explained by Ethelred being brother-in-law to Richard, Duke of Normandy, the great builder of St. Michael's Mount and other abbeys; (9) Anglo-Saxon MSS. show many details which are found in this Cathedral, such as clerestory windows flanked by small columns, capitals with intertwining stalks, scallops, and inverted volutes, bead ornament, and bases of pillars formed of two rolls with a straight line between them (cf. p. 72). It is impossible and unnecessary to go into minute detail here, and the reader, if intrigued by the theory, must consult Mr. Harrison's lengthy published opinion for himself.

The writer may as well say at once, for what his humble opinion may be worth, that he feels himself quite unable to subscribe to this idea. That the suggestion of Messrs. Parker and Brakspear is tenable is another matter, and, incidentally, it may be noted how many of Mr. Harrison's arguments would support these two gentlemen without committing them to a Saxon date. There is no room here to deal with Mr. Harrison's arguments *seriatim*, but one or two points must be answered. (3) Granted that this peculiarity occurs in an eleventh-century MS., there is still no need to go so far back for other examples. Take, for instance, the ruined abbey of Jedburgh in Scotland, founded

by David I (1124–53). Mr. J. Watson (see Bibliography) gives an illustration of a bay of the quire there showing a most striking parallel with Oxford. The design in all its important features is wonderfully similar, except that the triforium was used for lighting purposes. Or, again, consider the eastern bay on either side of the nave at Romsey. Here, also, a heavy cylindrical pier on the north side, with its scalloped capital, runs clear up above the triforium, while the arcade below springs from a three-quarter circular capital part way up the pier. On the south side the pier is similar, while the sub-arch springs from a square abacus supported by a corbel ornamented with salmon scale. The clerestory arrangement (see Harrison [9]) is in just the same form as that at Oxford, and the histories of the two places are strangely alike, for both were ravaged by the Danes in almost the same year. Glastonbury also provides yet another example, as pointed out by Dom. F. B. Bond in his recently published book, where he says that " the carrying up the heavily moulded arch on continuous shafting to overtop the triforium arcade has the singular merit of combining these two stages, which otherwise would have presented the disconnected appearance seen in other great churches." Something of the same kind may also be seen at Dunstable and, according to Mr. Buckler, at Montmartre, where everything, he says, including the clerestory, is comprised under one arch, thus involving two ranges of semi-capitals attached to the main column. In all these cases just mentioned this uncommon principle of building is in evidence, and *without exception*

they are all dated from the twelfth century. No one has yet had the hardihood to suggest that any of these are Saxon work, and it may well be asked why Oxford alone should on this account be dated nearly a hundred years earlier. (4) These capitals are certainly quite different from the rest, but their interlacing scrolls are to be found over a very long period, from the stone crosses of Cumberland in the seventh and eighth centuries to twelfth-century capitals from Westminster Hall, and English and German ivory carvings in the Victoria and Albert Museum. In another medium altogether, the glass in Canterbury Cathedral, c.1200, shows much the same type of design. The fact that they are weather-worn seems undoubted, and is hard to explain. (6) The late Professor Willis by permission gained entrance through the roof to the triforium level in the quire, and reported that he found at the back the two small open arches enclosed within a large containing arch after the regular manner of Norman work ; as the masonry, in his opinion, is the same above the upper arch as below it, this well-known authority rejected the Saxon theory. The shafts in the south transept are almost certainly Saxon, but, as at St. Albans, they can only be survivals inserted and cannot date the whole building. Finally (9) such decorative details as scallops, inverted volutes, and the rest, are common enough in late twelfth-century abbeys and churches up and down the land, while the spade-shaped leaf here illustrated is also a common ornament at this date, not only in England, but in Italy and elsewhere on the Continent. On historical grounds also the theory seems

most improbable. Consider for a moment the state of England in 1004: the people harassed, the country ravaged from end to end by the ceaseless incursions of the Danes, and resources drained to meet that miserable makeshift, the Danegeld. Is it conceivable that, at such a time and under such circumstances, a feckless king like Ethelred could have quietly got to work and raised a pile the like of which would have found no parallel either in size or magnificence throughout England? It is true, as Professor Baldwin Brown has pointed out, that under Cnut there was a good deal of church building, but this is too late for Mr. Harrison's view; to say nothing of the fact that the Professor finds in no existing Saxon remains any justification for thinking that, in those days, the enormously solid pillars of Oxford and elsewhere could ever have been, or were, set up. The writer readily agrees with the contributor to the "Ecclesiologist" who said, "Not that we share in the opinion which causes some people to feel uneasy at the bare utterance of the name Saxon, and to look upon the putting together of stones and mortar before the mysterious year 1066 as a physical or moral impossibility," but at the same time he feels that the evidence produced by Mr. Harrison is not con-

SPADE-SHAPED LEAF

vincing, and that on the question of style, whether of building or decoration, ample evidence has been shown for the latter half of the twelfth century.

Transition—Norman and Early English

At Oxford, as with all other large churches, the building operations were not completed in a day, and as this example was commenced late in the Norman period it is not surprising to find that, before all was completed, the Gothic feeling was beginning to creep in and show itself in small details. Thus the labels of the arches are somewhat heavier and the abaci* of the capitals rather thicker in the quire than in the nave. Again, the windows of the nave clerestory have now become pointed (see illus., opp. p. 40), and there is the further proof to be found in the ribs of the various aisle vaultings. Those in the quire aisles are noticeable for the heavy central roll flanked by two much smaller rolls ; in the transept and north nave aisles and in what is now the easternmost bay of the south nave aisle, originally part of the transept aisle, this difference is less conspicuous, the central roll being diminished while those on either side have slightly increased, thus giving a lighter appearance. The remaining ribs of the south nave aisle are on a smaller and still lighter scale, with that very significant addition, a fillet, on the almost pear-shaped central roll. It may perhaps be as well to mention that the north nave aisle ribs are in cement, not stone. The external square turrets to the east end and north transept have pleasing blind arcadings

* The upper order or portion of a capital.

upon them, some with round and others with pointed arches. All these details clearly show a period of transition and bring us to the true Early English style, of which the Cathedral has two fine examples. To this period belongs the Lady Chapel, to which dates c.1210–40 have been assigned. On the quire faces of its southern range of columns the original Norman main vaulting shafts remain, but on the remaining three faces it will be seen that the earlier work has been pared away and typical Early English clusters of filleted shafts substituted. There is little doubt but that the cores of these columns are Norman. The two easternmost bays are 2-ft. wider than the others, due apparently to the Early English piers in the east wall not projecting as far westwards as the Norman pier adjoining, and so leaving a larger span to be arched over. This extra width has had the effect of giving these arches a four-centred appearance, as though they might be Perpendicular work, but a glance at the mouldings will show that they are of the earlier date. Externally, the outstanding features are the upper stage of the tower and the spire. The former is pleasingly decorated on each face with two windows of two lights each and a quatrefoil opening in the head. The arches of these windows are carried on continuously round the corner turrets as a smaller arcading, above which there is a beautiful corbel table. From here there rises the rather stumpy spire, more or less of a broached character, with single windows of two lights similar in style to those below but having internally a second plane of tracery with formerly a stone transom now no

Photograph] [*W. Francis*

VIEW FROM NORTH-WEST

longer there, the same remark applying also to corbels referred to in Mr. Murray's handbook. In the corners are the squinches supporting the angle faces of the spire but, outside, instead of the broaches bringing these faces down to the corners, there are dainty pinnacles substituted. This arrangement is rare in England, but is a matter of common occurrence in Normandy. Both spire and tower have suffered a good deal from time to time, but the main trouble was caused by the ringing of the bells here in earlier days, which caused cracks to appear in the walls, and so called the present belfry into existence. The pinnacles and tip of spire are modern restorations. The date is generally considered to be somewhere about 1225, judging from its " tentative " character, for it is one of the earliest of its kind in England.

Lastly, and most beautiful of all, comes the Chapter House. The entrance door is, and the lower part of the side walls may be, Norman work, but somewhere about 1220–40 tremendous alterations were made, and to-day the visitor on entering is greeted with the sight of an eastern end of the utmost charm. Straight in front are five beautiful lancet windows, enhanced by an inner plane of tracery and by mouldings embellished with regular dog-tooth ornament, while the spandrels above are furnished with elaborate foliage. On the north and south sides are respectively one and two single light windows of similar style. The filleted ribs of the vaulting are adorned at the point of intersection by handsome bosses, and the whole effect is such that Professor Willis was forced to say that in his opinion

this Chapter House is the finest of its kind in England, not excluding that of Chester, to which it bears a good deal of resemblance. The only blemish is the insertion of transoms into the three central lights some time early in the seventeenth century, presumably to allow of casements which could be opened. In 1880 this fine room was thoroughly restored (see also p. 172).

Decorated

Of this style there is not a great deal of note in the Cathedral. The chief example is the Latin Chapel, that is, the one lying at the extreme north-east corner. Here also the two western bays are really the old transept aisle and chapel, absorbed by the later work, as can be traced in the illustration (opp. p. 184.) At the time of its erection, about the second quarter of the fourteenth century, the builders set out their new north wall beyond the line of that of the transept, the windows were fitted with interesting and varied tracery, and a simple vault put up with the ridge rib ornamented with a flat quatrefoil, which Mr. Lamborn has pointed out to be the only fourteenth-century vault in Oxford. It will be observed that in the eastern-most compartment of the vaulting (see illus. opp. p. 72) the ridge rib takes a sharp turn over to the north to meet the head of the window, which is not central with the line of the chapel. The immediate explanation of this arrangement seems to be that the southern Decorated buttress is set a little to the north of the line of Early English piers, and so pushes the window also over in that direction

(see plan). What the underlying reason may have been is not so clear, unless possibly there was some structural weakness to be met at that place.

In St. Lucy's Chapel, leading out of the south transept, we find the next example of Decorated work of any size. The window is a good specimen of reticulated tracery dating about 1320 and rendered more noticeable by the fact that the tracery, contrary to all rules and regulations, starts at a level below the springing of the arch (opp. p. 24). Over the gallery of the adjoining transept is another window of this period, but very greatly restored. Lastly, the framing of the east window of the south quire aisle calls for a little notice, with the jambs encrusted with the so-called "ball flower" typical of this period and with crocketed arch mouldings. According to Buckler, these fragments had been used "to block up an aperture near by," and Canon Bright considered them to be the actual remains of the old east window of the Sanctuary. (See illus. opp. p. 104.)

Perpendicular and Tudor

This period has also given to the Cathedral some excellent work, which in one case alone would make the building noteworthy. Little certain evidence is forthcoming as to when the alterations were made, but at some time in the latter half of the fifteenth century the Norman clerestory of the quire was changed and new windows put in. Note that windows only were inserted and that the Norman wall with flat buttress outside was otherwise left as before (opp. p. 24). The external wall of the north

nave aisle also received some attention, the buttresses being thickened and other work commenced but not finished, so that both pinnacles and battlement are lacking (opp. p. 32).

The great feature of the Cathedral, however, in this style is the magnificent vault over the eastern arm with its exquisite openwork pendants (opp. pp. 56, 120). Technically speaking, it is, according to Mr. F. E. Howard, a lierne and not a true fan vault, but, granted that it is so, the general effect is so rich and satisfying that Fergusson, one of the early standard writers upon architecture, was moved to say that " this roof, except in size, is one of the best and most remarkable ever executed." As regards its date, there is some uncertainty. Some authorities think it is contemporary with the Divinity School (1444–80), which in many respects it resembles, but a difficulty is that at this time the monastery was practically bankrupt and could scarcely have afforded to launch out upon such a work. Mr. Harold Brakspear puts it at c.1505, while others, again, think that it is the work of Wolsey, and refer to Bibl. Bodl. Tanner MS. 338 (reprinted by Gutch), which, among various accounts of payments, has, apparently under the year 1528, an entry : " Payments made for the making framing and kerving of ye newe vault of ye Roofe of the Quere within the foresaid Colledge," i.e. Christ Church. The drawback to this apparently clear proof is that Wolsey would hardly have been inclined to spend money on beautifying a building which he probably intended ultimately to demolish. The next entry but one in the MS. also raises a

difficulty, for in almost identical language it repeats the above entry, but substitutes for " of the Quere " the words " of ye new church of ye said college." As Wolsey never got beyond the wall plinth of his new chapel on the north side of Tom Quad there is some difficulty in reconciling these items. It should be noted that the design of the easternmost compartment differs slightly from the rest of the vaulting.

Early in the sixteenth century the great window of the north transept was put in and a beginning was made at the same end with the remodelling of the clerestory by the help of the benefactions from James Zouch. Presumably the intention was to change the entire aspect of the interior of the Cathedral, and therefore we may indeed be thankful that events marched too quickly for the builders and preserved for us the infinitely more interesting conception of earlier times. To the same period belong the flat coffered ceilings of the transepts. It was, of course, a little later that the nave suffered a heavy mutilation by the cutting off of the three westernmost bays at the hands of Wolsey, who put up a wall across the truncated end with a large window in the centre.

The cloisters, with their lierne vaulting, come in the last ten years of the fifteenth century as the gift of Robert Sherborne, Dean of St. Paul's. Remains of the Norman cloisters are said by some to be found in the north wall of the refectory, and along the whole of the eastern wall. Buckler, with whom the " Builder " agrees, thought that the refectory is entirely fifteenth century, and that only the part immediately adjoining the Chapter House was of the

earlier date. The present writer is inclined to agree with Buckler in respect of the frater, but has found great thickness and roughness in the lower part of the walls of the prior's house The original west wall has been found to have been used by Wolsey as a foundation for his buildings, while that of the later cloisters, which ran at an angle north-east to south-west, thus forming with the other sides what Buckler wildly calls "one of the most violent trapeziums of antiquity," was probably never finished. The foundations, 17 ft. long, were discovered in 1871, and are now covered by the low wall with iron gate running across the north-west corner of the garth. The present cloisters are so far larger than the earlier ones that they take in the end bay of the western aisle of the south transept, the spaces between the piers being filled in with masonry as we see it to-day. Part of the eastern and the whole of the southern alley are original Perpendicular work, as is also most of the wall of the north alley, but in this latter the vaulting is modern restoration as far round as the Chapter House, together with the jambs of the entrance into the Cathedral and the wall and buttresses to the west of that point. The reason for so much restoration hereabouts was that this portion was rescued in 1871 after having been fitted up and used for a century as a muniment room. The rather formless foundations in the grass patch were laid bare in the same year, but nothing is really known as to their purpose. They are not quite square with the present alleys, but seem to be parallel with the west wall of the Norman cloister used by Wolsey as just mentioned. Save for the

destruction of the western side the Cardinal made no change in the cloisters.

Seventeenth Century and Onwards

During this century building operations continued, but, owing to the comparatively secular character now assumed by Christ Church, they were more in connexion with the College than the Cathedral. Such work as was done in the latter was lamentable in the extreme, and it is a satisfaction to think that little trace of it is left to-day. The destruction, however, that it wrought with older work was unfortunately irreparable, and the result of that must always remain.

In 1629 Brian Duppa became dean and began a general refitting of the interior. He repaved the quire with black and white marble, and the remainder of the church with a white stone. This involved the uprooting of innumerable tomb slabs of departed canons and others, which were thought so little of that some were merely thrown aside, and many others were used for the baser purpose of lining a drain! The quire was then heaped high with panelled wooden boxstalls, and behind the stalls "are some darksome dens occupied by women, which greatly encumber the choir aisles." Remains of these stalls, which lasted until 1856, are, together with two brass candelabra, to be seen in Cassington church, a few miles out of Oxford. The organ was put on a screen at the west end of the quire, and all the windows were converted into a large two-light form for the purpose of taking the new Flemish glass, which, under the brothers

Van Linge, was becoming all the rage at Oxford. Lastly, as will be seen in Britton's engraving, some terrible monstrosities in the shape of screens were placed across the western ends of the three north-eastern aisles. These screens were so designed that they completed the semicircles of the Norman arcading below the triforium, thus providing three enormous O's, beneath which were Renaissance doors with Gothic details and panelling to match filling up the open spaces between the columns. To-day they no longer exist, and may their memorial perish with them!

Later on more vandalism must be recorded. Some time in the eighteenth century a stone balustrade was put across all the clerestory openings, no doubt with the laudable intention of preventing accidents, but the effect was terrible, and makes us thankful, in some cases at any rate, for "restoration"! Again, probably in this same century, the end bay of the south transept above the "slype" was walled off up to the roof and converted to the "unworthy purpose" of a dwelling-house for the verger. The upper part was turned into a bedroom and the chimney to a fireplace poked through the tracery of one of the windows! The stinging words of the "Ecclesiologist's" contributor are a sufficient comment, "In so vast a college the hire of a single room cannot be dispensed with, but the House of God must be defiled," and with this we will let the dark cloud of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century sloth and neglect descend upon the unfortunate Cathedral and go outside to get a breath of fresh air.

Photograph] [*G. Chaundy*

COMPLETE BAY OF NAVE

Here the architect and builder are doing something worthy of their name. Towards the end of the seventeenth century Tom Tower was completed by Sir Christopher Wren in order to make a home for newly cast "Big Tom," and was soon after embellished by a statue of Queen Anne on the quadrangle side, presented by Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, and a former member of the House, and by Francis Bird's marble statue of Wolsey (1719) on the opposite side, removed from over the entrance to the Hall.

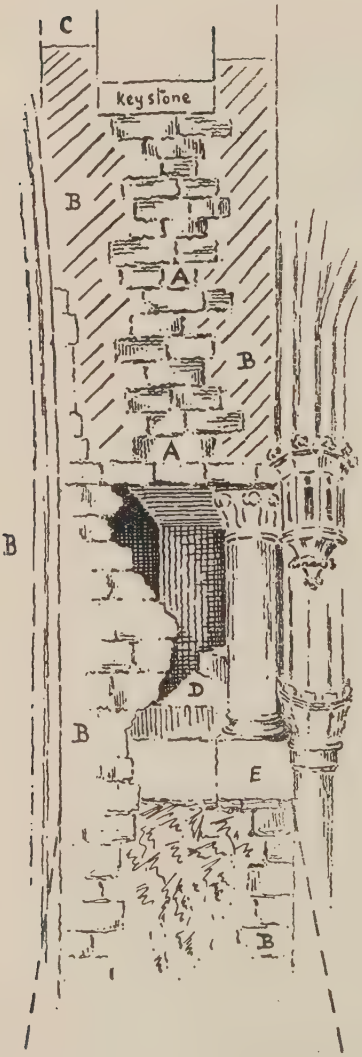
In the middle of the nineteenth century the great period of restoration of the Cathedral began with the work of the architect, Mr. John Billings, of Westminster. This gentleman's main duty consisted in clearing away the seventeenth-century accretions. In 1856 he re-arranged the quire, taking away Duppa's stalls, pews, and the quire screen, but did comparatively little constructional work beyond that of reparation. On his removal of the woodwork it was found that Brian Duppa had not scrupled, when fitting in his stalls, to "square" the pillars and remove their bases where necessary, so that the stonework had to be made good at all these points. At this time it was decided to instal a heating apparatus beneath quire and nave, and it was while this work was going on that a most interesting discovery under the floor between the north and south-eastern tower piers was made. This was a small underground chamber 7 ft. in length from north to south and 5½ ft. wide and deep. A squinch or support remaining at one corner suggests that the chamber may have been covered by a large

stone or wooden slab. Other features inside were plaster with traces of red colouring, a recess with door on either side, and on the west wall the remains of three incised crosses some $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long. The entrance may have been from the eastern side, but this could not be ascertained for certain. Various theories were put forward as to its purpose. Some thought it may have been the " obscure place " in which St. Frideswide was buried, although it lies the wrong way for a tomb ; others that it may have been the secret treasury of the monastery or where the " St. Frideswide's chest " or " cista " belonging to the University was kept. The general opinion, at any rate, was that it is Norman work, and Mr. Billings suggested that it may have been used for mysterious occurrences in connexion with St. Frideswide's Shrine, as mentioned by Prior Philip (cf. p. 25). To-day it is full of bones disturbed when putting in the heating apparatus.

Finally, in 1870, there came the great upheaval of Sir G. Gilbert Scott's elaborate and extensive restoration. Many unkind things have been said of his work, and in the case of Oxford the new east end is the main cause of offence to most people, but, before dealing with the rights and wrongs of that piece of work, it may be as well just to clear off some of the smaller matters which required his attention. For example, the upper half of the south quire aisle walls and windows (except that of Bishop King) are his restoration, the tracery in practically all the windows of the aisles and cloisters is his, the vestry over the slype or passage way in the south transept was almost entirely remodelled by him,

and to him is also due the new vaulting of the north and part of the east alleys of the cloisters. In so far as might be, Sir Gilbert Scott endeavoured to remedy Wolsey's drastic cutting off of the end of the nave by doing away with his wall and rebuilding the bay to the west of the organ, driving the present entrance through a canon's lodgings which then blocked the way.

However, it is with the east end that Sir Gilbert's name is especially associated, for here was an alteration of the highest importance, and one which was to affect the appearance of the whole Cathedral. Whether it can strictly be called an "alteration," and whether it is not really a genuine "restoration," will be dealt with in a moment. It is not known how the earliest Norman building may have ended. It is possible that the east end may have been, as Buckler puts it, "turned round with a cimicircle," but of this there is no trace, and the lower part of the square east end with the two attendant corner turrets is undoubtedly of the late Norman period. Rather more than a hundred years later the great change had been made, and a large Decorated window had been put in, and remained until taken out by Scott. Dugdale gives two views of this end, which, however, vary, and therefore cannot be trusted, but in B. Mus. Add. MS. 36399, Drawing No. 13, Buckler has a very fine and careful pencil drawing which includes this Decorated window. Again, in Add. MS. 27765, about folio 190, the same gentleman gives a drawing of a section of the arch, and on folio 162 (97^{v}) he goes on to say: "The good and elegant work of ye 13th century was



tenderly treated at ye commencement as if its pardon might become advisable; but ye discovery at intervals, high up and low down, of late Anglo-Norman work ultimately precipitated ye removal of everything which stood in ye way of ye full revealment of whatever would promote ye restoration of ye Founder's Sanctuary." The discoveries referred to seem to have thrown a great deal of light upon the original design, for they found that a minimum of the Norman work had in reality been removed. In the thickness of the wall there remained the soffit

EAST WALL: BUCKLER (*adapted*)

A.—Core of Norman arch from spring to crown with keystone.
B.—Decorated east window, and facing to inner and outer arch opening.
C.—Norman discharging arch.
D.—Spiral staircase in south-east Norman corner turret.
E.—Pillar of Norman clerestory found *in situ*.

Dotted lines show position of original clerestory passage across the east end.

of a large part of the Norman clerestory arch, plastered and painted to represent joints, resting upon its original pillars, complete with capitals and bases, together with a little bit of paved walk on either side. From this last fact it was gathered that the clerestory passage had run right across the east end in the thickness of the wall in front of the Norman window, as appears elsewhere to-day in the clerestory. The accompanying rough sketch, made up from two of Buckler's drawings, will perhaps explain the foregoing remarks. At the bottom of the window the southern jamb only showed recesses for pillars and seats for their bases, but on the northern jamb was a range of three pillars receding on the sloping cill with their bases on ledges one above the other up to the base of the window proper. On the insertion of the Decorated window this slope was filled up to a level with the window, thus concealing two of the bases, and the face was ornamented, c.1500, with a foliated pattern in black. As regards the all-important question as to whether there was a central pier, Buckler seems at first a little uncertain, but in the end he says that there was apparent evidence that a "massive middle pier" had formerly existed in the centre. This, of course, was the final justification for the arrangement of the east end as we see it to-day, and on the strength of which it can be maintained that Sir Gilbert Scott's work is, speaking generally, a more or less faithful reproduction of the original. Buckler's notes and drawings of this east end are particularly full and, coming as they do from the hand of the Cathedral architect, are especially valuable.

CHAPTER III

Cathedral Interior—Details

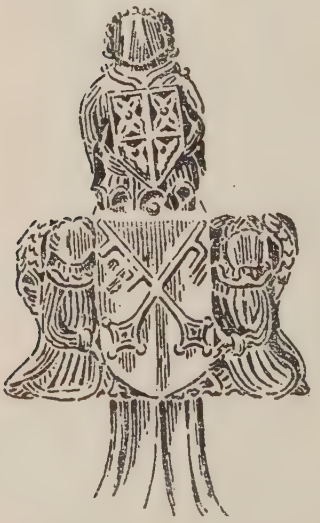
IN this chapter it is proposed to conduct the visitor round the Cathedral and point out details of architecture, monuments, and other items worthy of notice in the order in which they are met.

The double-arched entrance of somewhat forbidding appearance now contains two large panels inscribed with the names of those members of the College who laid down their lives in the Great War. Passing through, visitors find themselves in a species of ante-chapel, the walls of which are covered—we cannot say adorned—with some of the larger organ pipes, together with rather unlovely and inadequate tablets to men famous in the academic world and beyond. Such, for example, as Dean Gaisford, the Greek scholar; Charles Lloyd, Bishop; and John Fell, best known of deans, to whom the College and the University owe so large a debt. A preliminary glance down the nave to get a general view of the interior (opp. p. 216), and then turning to the left into the north nave aisle, the first object of interest is the quaint Jonah window, known to and cherished by many generations of Christ Church men. (See next chapter.) Special notice should all the time be given to the half capitals of the columns as they are passed,

with their unique late Norman carving. On a pillar to the right is a tablet to Canon Scott Holland, d. 1918, with a number of heraldic shields so placed as to give the feeling that they might drop off at any moment. At the end of the aisle, high up on the left-hand side, there is a small painting after the manner of a brass with a tiny kneeling figure and an inscription to one Alexander Gerarde, who died in 1601, as a member of the "House." In the west aisle of the transept there is little of interest beyond the brass of Leonard Hutten, canon and antiquarian, and a good view from the corner, as the illustration on page 184 shows. This gives an excellent idea of the main architectural design, and shows the aisle to the transept on beyond, such a feature being very uncommon. This north transept is chiefly noticeable for an enormous fifteenth-century window filled with modern glass. Beneath is the altar tomb of James Zouch, d. 1503, who by his will not only directed that he should be buried in this position, but left £30 towards the revaulting of this part of the building. Above may be seen the commencement of this work in accordance with his wish. Upon his tomb are five shields, each bearing an inkhorn and penner, or pen case, from which it may be guessed that he was a notary. On this same north wall are one or two seventeenth-century brasses (q.v.) of no great moment, and a tablet to Dr. Thomas Lockey, Prebendary and Bodley's librarian, d. 1679,

INKHORN AND PENNER

bearing a quaint inscription which may be translated thus: "Whose double visit to Rome caused neither his native land nor yet his religious beliefs to lose favour in his sight. Whom also a kindly Providence endowed with an easy conscience and other virtues of mild character in order that he might live contented both with himself and his estate." An unkind epitaph, which seems to suggest a colourless and self-satisfied personality. The little frieze of angels' heads with outspread wings and crosses upon their foreheads immediately below the window cill is rather pleasing.



(?) ARMS OF SEE OF ST. ASAPH

A CARDINAL'S HAT

Passing on, we reach the Latin, St. Catherine's, St. Frideswide's, or Divinity Chapel, as it has been

Photograph] [*G. Chaundy*

THE CHAPTER HOUSE

variously called, probably built late in the first half of the fourteenth century. It will be remembered that it was explained on page 34 that the westernmost bay is really part of the transept aisle, which was originally furnished with two chapels, in all probability, extending one bay farther to the east. The glass is a very special feature of this chapel, but will be reserved for the next chapter. Another interesting point is the woodwork. Portions at the west end seem to be a good deal older, but certainly all the ornamented parts appear to date from the time of Wolsey, and were probably removed from the quire by Dean Duppa when he substituted his own fittings. The accompanying drawings will show the style of workmanship and type of decoration, which includes foliage and acorns, the four evangelists symbolically represented, and grotesque heads. There has been a certain amount of mutilation, but there is still much left that is worth inspection. As regards the misericords, it will be found that only about two will turn up, but their ornament is of no great importance. Note upon the stalls the old-fashioned but still used iron candle-

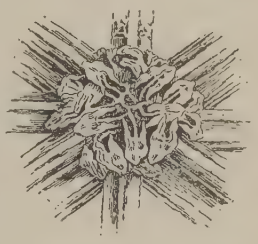
SYMBOL OF ST. LUKE

holders, made to slide up and down the main rod and kept in position by a spring. High up at the south-west corner hangs a gilded mitre, denoting that John Fell, Bishop and Dean, was buried near at hand below. Farther up there stands on the right the Vice-Chancellor's throne of Jacobean date, formerly placed opposite the pulpit. In the north wall within the sanctuary there may be seen an ogeed opening, which, if rather short for a tomb, at any

MEDIAEVAL TILES IN LATIN CHAPEL

rate looks as though it might have been used as an Easter sepulchre. It was discovered behind the woodwork in 1890 when this chapel was restored. On the floor in the same place are some mediaeval tiles fairly well preserved. The accompanying illustrations show what is probably the double-headed eagle of the Holy Roman Empire, and the lion rampant of the Duke of Cornwall (see p. 172). The floors of this and the adjoining chapel were similarly paved in early days, but most of the tiles have disappeared, and those that remain are much

worn. Lastly, there are the finely carved bosses in the vaulting to be examined. Starting from the eastern end, they may be described as follows: (1) roses and foliage, (2) a dragon, (3) a bishop's head with mitre, surrounded by foliage, (4) foliage, (5) commonly called a water lily, but a little inspection shows that the leaves are clearly those of the Arrowhead (*Sagittaria sagittifolia. Linn*), one of the commonest and yet most distinctive of the water plants in the local ditches and streams, (6) a squirrel sitting among foliage, and (7) a king's head with crown, for which compare a somewhat similar head in the glass of the adjoining window. It now remains just to explain two of the other names which have been given to this chapel. That of St. Catherine, i.e. of Alexandria, probably comes from the fact that her figure occurs twice in the glass, that by tradition she was an instructress of St. Frideswide, and that she was generally looked upon as the patron of students in Divinity. The name of Latin Chapel was given because it was here that the daily service was said in Latin up to December 25, 1648, and from the Restoration until 1861. During the Commonwealth it was held in the rooms of Thomas Willis, the physician, at Beam, or Biham Hall, near Merton College. This service was regularly attended by John Fell (afterwards Dean), Richard Allestree, and John Dolben, Canons of Christ Church respectively, and their loyalty to the



"ARROWHEAD" BOSS

Church of England service is commemorated by Sir Peter Lely's curious picture over the fireplace in the Hall, showing all three sitting round a table. Here Fell is shown as lean and tall, Dolben fat and round, and Allestree as thin with a reddish face. In the " Act " of 1664 these characteristics were seized upon by that scurrilous person, the " Terrae Filius," who proceeded to make reference to the past doings of the jack, the chub, and the red herring !

The adjoining Lady Chapel, which is also known as that of the Guardian Angels and the Deans' Chapel or Dormitory, from the fact that various deans are buried or " sleep " in and around this part, is also of the greatest interest. Here, also, as before said, the westernmost bay is really part of the transept aisle. In the thirteenth century, the time when it became the fashion to have some portion of a church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, this chapel was added for the purpose. Normally a Lady Chapel is found at the extreme east end, but here, owing to the nearness of a bastion of the city wall, now part of the College of Corpus Christi, there was no room for such an arrangement.

Between this and the last-mentioned chapel are collected the finest tombs in the Cathedral, which have been very fully described by Mr. Bloxam, and from whose descriptions some of the following details have been taken. First comes a knight of " gigantick stature " in full armour of very late fourteenth century, which includes a conical bascinet laced down the side of the face for the camail or curtain of mail, a rich baudrick, and round-pointed sollerets or protections for the instep. At his feet

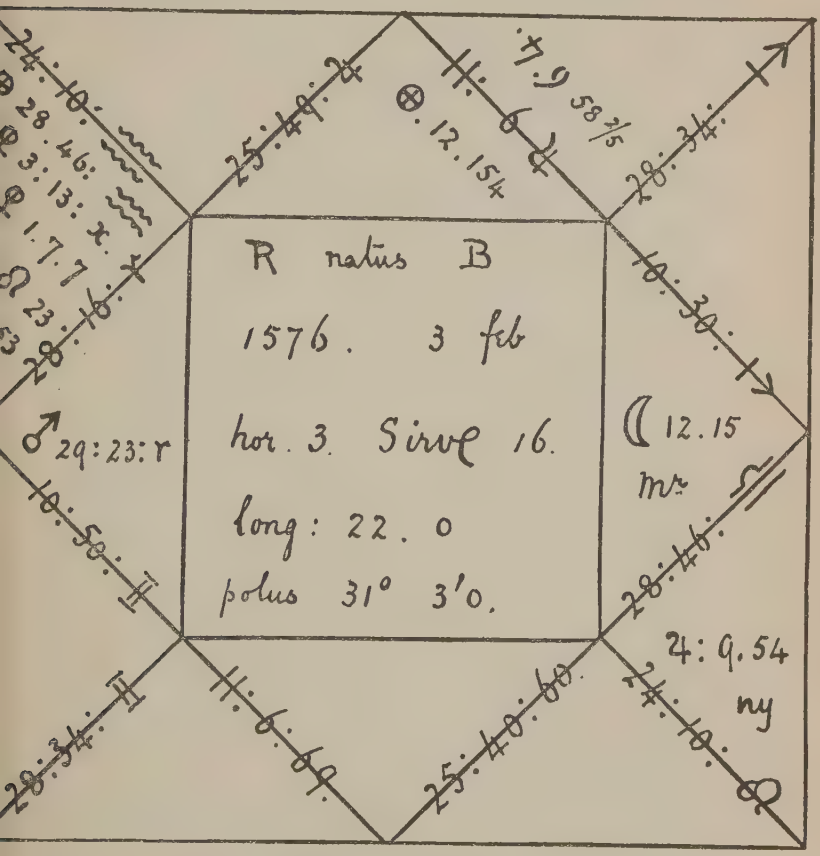
Photograph] [*W. Francis*

TOMB : SIR GEORGE NOWERS

is a collared dog, and his head rests on a large helmet with a bull's head for crest. The jupon, or surcoat, is emblazoned with the following arms: [Az :] a fess [arg :] between three garbs or (Nowers). On the sides of the tomb are shields in quatrefoils, those at the head and south side bear arms as follows: the tinctures are very uncertain—at the head Nowers imp: a chevron between three greyhounds, the two in chief combatant, the one in base courant. (Family not known. ? Willie, co. Devon, or Gaynesford, co. Oxon.). At the side (1) greyhound coat imp: sa: a bordure arg: with five cinquefoils gu: (? D'Arcy); (2) greyhound coat imp: barry nebulé arg: and gu: (? D'Amory or Barratt, co. Leics.); (3) greyhound coat; (4) greyhound coat imp: or three piles sa: a dexter canton erm: (? Basset); (5) greyhound coat imp: gu: three lucies hauriant arg: (Lucy). There appear to be no coats of arms on the shields at the foot and on the north side. At one time this tomb was said to be that of Sir Henry de Bathe, a judge whose name is found in 1260, but this is impossible, and it is now generally considered to be that of a companion of the Black Prince, one Sir George Nowers, d. 1425, lord of the manors of Churchill and Tackley, in Oxfordshire, whose family had on more than one occasion been benefactors to St. Frideswide's. Two little points to note: Firstly, that Sir George died rather late for the style of the figure, unless, as Mr. R. J. King points out, it was made during his lifetime, which was not at all an uncommon habit. Secondly, the figure does not fit on to the top properly. Ant. à Wood says, on some unknown authority, that

there was a tomb to Sir George Nowers in Tackley Church, but there is nothing there to-day. Can the figure have been moved from Tackley to the Priory Church? This monument was more or less covered by that of Bishop John Fell until the great restoration, when the latter was then moved to the west end of the nave. On the pier above is the tablet, with bust, of Robert Burton, d. 1639, sometime scholar of Christ Church, mathematician, calculator of "nativities," and best known for his book, "Anatomy of Melancholy." At the top are his arms: Az: a fess between three talbots' heads erased or, a crescent gu: for difference. On either side are his own "nativity" and a sphere. For the benefit of mathematically-minded readers his nativity is as opposite. In the next bay to the east is a rich canopied tomb, smothered in "ball flower" and crockets, with shafts of Purbeck marble and little capitals of beautifully carved foliage, including ivy with berries, oak with acorns, fig and vine with bunches of grapes. At each angle there was a niche and a statuette, but, as a whole, the tomb has been badly treated, and only a portion of one small figure remains at the north-west corner. Within, on the slab, lies the "full proportion of a man in scarlet formalities," which, being interpreted, means the figure of a prior with his tonsured head resting on two cushions and himself vested in full canonicals, but without a pastoral staff. Mr. Bloxam says it is not easy to say whether he is wearing a dalmatic or tunicle, as this garment is only suggested in paint. The chasuble, with orphreys after the fashion of the Greek Upsilon, may have been scarlet, but the

colouring has gone, although there are traces of paint powdered with cinquefoils or roses. Originally guessed to be the tomb of Guimond, d. 1149, which is, of course, out of the question, it is now, in the absence of any clue on the figure itself, generally



BURTON'S NATIVITY

assigned to Prior Alexander de Sutton, c.1294–1316. Note that the capitals of the arch above are of a debased and apparently later character.

Passing on eastwards, the next bay contains yet another exceedingly interesting altar tomb, namely that of Lady Montacute. Some think that, originally, this also was canopied, but there is nothing on the slab to support the idea. It formerly had a position in between the arcading of the north quire aisle, but was moved by Dean Duppa in 1633 to its present place, according to Ant. à Wood, who goes on to say that, in 1661, he was told by Dr. Holyday, Archdeacon of Oxford, that the tomb "in the removing was opened where they saw a perfect effigies with many ribbons about it as alsoe bay leaves and other things." The tomb is remarkable as giving some very valuable examples of civilian costumes of the period. Her ladyship lies with her head resting on a pair of cushions supported by two angels. Her hair is contained in a jewelled caul, on her forehead is a veil over which is a pleated cap, with a tippet falling down behind. She wears a close-fitting gown known as a sideless cote hardi, that is, with part cut away on either side of the waist to show an undergarment. The gown is buttoned down the front, and is red in colour, powdered with gilt leopards' heads, sexfoils, and foliage, with a plain white border at the bottom and a little edging of leaves round the opening at the neck. Over all she wears a rich robe of yellowish colour, fastened in front with a morse or clasp and decorated all over in gesso with a pattern of fleur-de-lis and tiny roundels. At her feet, which are encased in black

Photograph] [*W. Francis*

THE QUIRE VAULT: DETAIL

shoes, lies a dog. On the ends of the tomb, at the head is the Blessed Virgin and Child with the symbols of St. Matthew and St. John, and at the foot those of St. Mark and St. Luke with a figure seated between them, clothed in a gown and mantle and with long flowing hair. On the north and south sides are Lady Montacute's ten children, all unfortunately minus their heads, and one or two of them

No. 1 in text

No. 2 in text

No. 4 in text

FIGURES ON LADY MONTACUTE'S TOMB

helpless cripples to boot! Only a very short description of each little figure is possible here. Starting at the south-west corner we see (1) a woman in a simple dress, apparently a sideless cote hardi. (2) A woman with a close-fitting gown and long liripipes, or false sleeves, and a pocket hole in front. (3) A bishop, probably Simon of Ely, 1337. (4) A man in a long red cloak holding a gypcière, or purse. (5) One of the cripples! He has sleeves buttoned from elbow to wrist, a baudrick, and a purse. (6) A fashionable man in a red cloak with jagged edges

and fastened with large square clasps. (7) An abbess in a most dignified posture, with her black cloak held together by a chain. She wears the pleated barbe or chin covering, and has a pastoral staff of which the crook seems to have gone since Mr. Bloxam wrote. (8) A somewhat similar figure to (7). (9) A woman in a green gown with sleeves reaching to the elbow. (10) A woman in a white

No. 5 in text No. 6 in text No. 7 in text

FIGURES ON LADY MONTACUTE'S TOMB

gown, with narrow girdle, over which is a black mantle. Of these, (7) and (8) probably represent Matilda (1341–52) and Isabella (1352–8), Abbesses of Barking, and (10) may be Elizabeth (1340–c.57), Prioress of Holywell Nunnery, Shoreditch. Just above these little figures will be seen shields repeating alternately two coats of arms: Arg: three lozenges conjoined in fess gu: (Montacute); and, bendy of ten or and az: (Montfort). Lady Montacute was the granddaughter of the famous Simon de Montfort, and married for her first husband

Sir William Montacute, d. 1319–20, and for her second Thomas Lord Furnival. In 1346 she founded a chantry for two secular priests in the church, and died in 1353. For their maintenance she gave to the Priory Stockwell Mead, that is to say, the south half of the present-day Christ Church meadows. In her day, not the Thames but the Shire Lake, now a mere ditch running across the field, was the boundary between Oxfordshire and Berkshire, as Mr. Wigram tells us ; Stockwell Mead was therefore in Berkshire, and since c.1060 had been in fact the property of the monks of Abingdon Abbey. Lady Montacute was their tenant-in-chief, and persuaded them to concur in her gift to St. Frideswide's Priory. Being a farseeing woman, she wisely, and indeed kindly, added a condition that, if at any time through no fault of the Priory the meadow would not support the secular priests then regulars should take their place. In 1362, funds being low, the Priory availed itself of this condition, and dismissed one chaplain, while nearly twenty years later, matters having got worse, we find that regulars took the place altogether of the secular priests. On the floor by the side of this tomb is a large stone with an incised cross and a Lombardic inscription, so worn as to be wellnigh undecipherable. The writer in the " Builder " some thirty years ago gives it as follows : JOHAN : DE : COL . . V . LE : GIST : ICI : DIEU : . . . . . MCCC (?MERCI) POUR : LAME : PRIER : DIS : JOURS : DE : PARDON : AVER : AMEN.

We have now arrived in front of the so-called " Watching Chamber," which has been frequently

misunderstood. As a piece of late fifteenth-century work it is very beautiful (opp. p. 80). The lace-like carving of the stone work at the bottom is charming, and the woodwork above, if less elaborate, has perhaps more dignity even in its mutilated state. The upper half of the loft seems to have been intended to take statues in the shallow niches, which are provided with pedestals, each having in it a peghole. No statues, however, exist to-day. On the north side is the entrance to the upper part, and also three damaged sedilia. The interior of the lower part is filled for half its height by a large altar tomb, on the top of which may be seen the matrices of brasses to a civilian and his wife, the latter evidently wearing the mitred headdress typical of the period. The little vaulting over is of fan tracery, with small bosses of foliage at the intersections of the ribs, while the east and west walls are covered with trefoil-headed stone panelling. In June, 1889, an opportunity offered to inspect the vault beneath, and in the presence of some of the Cathedral Chapter and members of the Society of Antiquaries and the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society this was done. Entering at the north-west corner, the vault was found to be about $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep from the level of the pavement and to contain only a single oaken coffin with the body of a woman in a shroud. Remains of another skeleton were lying in the south-east corner, and may have been an earlier burial disturbed by the making of the vault. It should also be mentioned that the space between the top of the vault and the tomb slab was found to be full of fragments of worked stone, including a Norman

and an Early English piscina, the latter with two trefoiled arches divided by a small shaft with foliated cap and much dog-tooth ornament. As the late Sir W. H. St. John Hope pointed out, this is therefore nothing more than a late fifteenth-century tomb of a civilian and his wife, with their chantry chapel placed above. No doubt the priest, while performing his duties, could see the tomb of St. Frideswide, and to that extent might be said to be keeping an eye upon the Shrine ; but there is equally no doubt that this was not the primary object of the chapel, which was for saying masses for the souls of those buried below. Neither must it be forgotten that the Shrine had been in this part of the church already some two hundred years, and it was therefore a little late in the day to put up a watching chamber. Mention of St. Frideswide's Shrine calls to mind the brass plate let into the pavement in the middle of this chapel to show where the last and most beautiful tomb of the saint is supposed to have rested. The vaulting at this point is enriched with paintings, and in each compartment of the second bay are to be made out two angels standing in albs and amices, the red apparels of the former appearing at their wrists and feet. Each has one wing outspread, while the other passes behind the body, and each swings a censer, the chains of which can be seen in every case. All the mouldings of the neighbouring arches, capitals, and pillars show many traces of having been painted in blue and red. It has *per contra* been suggested with a good deal of probability that this extra decoration was for the chantry founded by Lady

Montacute, and not for the Shrine, but there is nothing known for certain. However, it was presumably these paintings which caused this chapel to be called that of the Guardian Angels. In 1348 a local guild of barbers was incorporated at Oxford (see Salter's Mun. Civit., Oxon.), especially connected with maintaining a lighted lamp in this chapel. Contributions were fixed, and every gild man or woman keeping a shop had to pay 2d., and a journeyman 1d., at each quarter. The penalty was 6s. 8d. for letting the light go out, and for shaving any one on Sunday 3s. 4d. had to be paid to "Our Ladie's boxe." The east walls both of this chapel and the north quire aisle should be noticed as being the cause of the discussion set out in Chapter II, but it will not be necessary to say anything further here beyond pointing out the double Early English piscina in the wall.

Within a yard or two of the "Watching Chamber" is the romantic and veritable tomb of St. Frideswide, in fragments, it is true, and fragments found by the merest chance in unexpected and ignoble places, but none the less the real thing. Strictly speaking, it is, of course, only the platform upon which stood the actual Shrine, which, like most other reliquaries of this kind at home and abroad, was probably in the shape of an oblong casket with a coped lid. It will at once be obvious that here there is new mixed with old, but enough having been found of the latter to give an approximate idea of the original design, the scraps were in 1889 mounted accordingly by Mr. J. P. Harrison in the hope that one day some more of the missing

parts might yet be found to resume their old-time positions. This re-erection, be it noted, was done on the six hundredth anniversary of the saint's translation to this actual Shrine. Buckler, with an architect's righteous indignation, bursts out in one place with "Time, gluttonous Time, surely is not

ST. FRIDESWIDE'S SHRINE
North-east Corner

so inimical to architecture as ye destructive operations of man," and in respect of this particular example we may indeed agree with him, for these fragments have been rescued from all sorts of odd places. Executed in a shelly limestone in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, it shows at its very best the sculptor's power of observing and reproducing nature, and the wonderful and botanically accurate detail should be most carefully examined.

The various trees and plants depicted are, with one or two slight alterations, as identified by Mr. G. C. Druce, F.S.A., as follows: *East end*, south half spandrel vine with grapes, cusp with hogweed (*Heracleum sphondyleum*), north half spandrel fig with no fruit. *North side*, east half spandrel ivy with berries and bird, centre spandrel oak with acorns and empty cups and a mutilated face; the stop and cusp below have oak leaves, west half spandrel leaves and samaras or winged seed vessels of sycamore (*Acer pseudoplatanus*). *West end*, north half spandrel hawthorn with berries (*Crataegus oxyacanthus*). This small tree is at all times conspicuous for great variation in foliage on individual specimens, and it is worth while to note that there are here shown two quite distinct leaf forms in the same spandrel. South half spandrel white bryony, or white vine with fruit (*Bryonia dioica*). *South side*, west half spandrel greater celandine (*Chelidonium majus. Linn.*) with female head, centre spandrel maple (*Acer campestris*) with winged seed vessels

ST. FRIDESWIDE'S SHRINE
Spandrel at west end

Photograph] [*G. Chaundy*

TOM TOWER

and female face, the stop below has the water crowfoot (*Ranunculus aquatilis. Linn.*), east half spandrel columbine (*Aquilegia vulgaris. Linn.*). It has been

ST. FRIDESWIDE'S SHRINE
South side

suggested that the mutilated face may have represented St. Frideswide and those on the south side the two companions of her flight. The saint gained a great reputation not only for learning, but also for healing the sick, and as many of the plants on the tomb have a certain medicinal value it has been thought that they may intend an allusion to her powers, while the oak and the ivy refer to her place of refuge. This may possibly be so, but it is doubtful whether so much should be read into the work. Traces of gilding overlaid with red and blue paint can be found here and there among the mouldings.

The plinth, in spite of much damage, is also worthy of notice. Of the seven quatrefoils on the south side three contain foliage and four have queens' heads. On the north side appear the ? nimbed heads of a woman and a bearded man, and at the west end a cross made of leaves and a king's head with crown and flowing hair.

Upon the floor of the north quire aisle are several interesting slabs and a good brass. Of the former, note that of Canon Anthony Radcliffe, who *monumentum sibi fecit in Atrio Pecwateriensi,* because it was through his munificence that the quadrangle was built. Another slab of Sussex marble, and of much earlier work, shows the remains of an incised cross with an animal in base and a Lombardic inscription round the edge as follows : [MAGISTE]R ANDREAS DE SOLTRE QVONDAM RECTOR ECCLESIE DE R[?K]ALLEYE CVIVS..... Halfway down, by the side of the cross, is cut the date 1642, showing that the slab was then used for a second burial. The piers of this aisle are interesting as showing the original Norman work on the south side and the thirteenth-century casing on the others.

Just as we turn round under the lantern four flags will be noticed hanging from the north-west pier. These refer to the following local military units : (1) 2/4 Oxon. and Bucks. Light Infantry, (2) IV Oxfordshire Light Infantry, (3) the same as (2) but with the name within a wreath of flowers with " Mediterranean " below, and (4) a banner of mantua purple cloth bearing a crowned monogram A.R., with " Queen's Own Oxfordshire Hussars " below. This last-named regiment, otherwise

known as the " Oxfordshire Yeomanry," of which Her Majesty had been Colonel-in-Chief since 1919, became, in 1922, under a new reorganization scheme of the Territorial Army, an artillery unit with the name of the " 100th (Worcestershire and Oxfordshire Yeomanry) Brigade R.F.A." As the Hussars, they had a fine record in the Great War, serving with much distinction in the early days out in France.

From this point the beautiful quire vaulting can be examined more closely, and loses nothing by the inspection. At the west end are some figures beneath canopies representing St. Peter and St. Mary Magdalen on the north, and St. Paul and St. Catherine on the south (opp. p. 128). A little lower down on the north is a small grotesque, crouching and holding his hand to his ear in the attitude of listening to a figure opposite on the south, playing on a lute-shaped instrument. According to Dr. Dearmer the two crowned heads just below these figures might represent Henry VIII and Catherine Parr. Higher up, under the tower, is a corbel (see illus. opp. p. 128) in the form of a man's face, with a wrinkled forehead and forked beard, suggesting a late fourteenth-century date. The main bosses in the roof, Mr. Harrison thought, may refer to the dedication of the church. They appear to show, starting from the west, (1) a bishop with pastoral staff and two figures, (2) an archbishop with cross, (3) ? St. Frideswide holding a sceptre with foliated end (cf. glass in Latin Chapel) and with an angel on either side, (4) the Madonna and Child, (5) head of our Lord in an aureole, with a beard twisted into three points.

Coming down rather lower, it is worth noting how that at the top of the pier capitals the outer moulding of the triforium arch on reaching the abacus does not in every case fit exactly, but overlaps by an inch or two. This little point is more noticeable in the transepts and nave because in the quire there has been an attempt made to bevel off these projecting pieces. (See illus. opp. p. 192, and on p. 24.) As is to be expected, the quire fittings are all modern, and are fully described on the explanatory boards which are thoughtfully scattered throughout the building. The lectern was given by the Revs. T. Vere Bayne and H. L. Thompson, and the velvet covered Bible by the three daughters of Dean Liddell in 1874. Just three years earlier the pavement was relaid and ornamented with representations of the Cardinal Virtues copied from the Church of the Knights of St. John at Malta. The stalls, quire seats, and bishop's throne were made by Messrs. Farmer & Brindley, of Italian walnut wood, the latter being put up in 1876 as a memorial to Bishop Wilberforce. The ironwork behind the stalls is a copy by Skidmore, of Birmingham, of that on Queen Eleanor's tomb in Westminster Abbey. At the east end there was placed anonymously in 1881 an altar of carved and gilded cedarwood with a reredos of Dumfries sandstone and figures to match in red marble ("rosso antico"), carved by Mr. Brindley. They represent St. Michael, St. Stephen, St. Augustine, and St. Gabriel, with the Crucifixion in the centre. Above, are emblems of the Passion on small shields. Exception has been taken to this work of Mr. G. F.

Bodley on the ground that it does not fit in with the rest of the building, and certainly the red colour in this yellowish oolitic limestone country looks rather exotic and out of harmony. On a shelf projecting from a column on the north side lies the college "Roll of Honour," in the shape of a bound book with enamelled ornament and coat of arms. It is chained to the desk after the old fashion and locked, but will be opened on the request of any relative of a member therein commemorated.

The south quire aisle received so much attention from Sir G. G. Scott that much of its interest has gone. With the exception of that of Bishop King, the remaining windows are all more or less modern save for some of the angle shafts, but the lower parts of the walls, the vaulting, and the engaged pillars which carry it, are all of the late twelfth century. The capitals of the last, as also the corresponding one in the north quire aisle, are notable for the curious grotesque heads which they bear. Allusion has already been made to the Decorated ornament at the east end, and here, again, must be noticed the sharp turn of the vaulting ridge rib off to the south in similar fashion to that of the Latin Chapel. On the two pillars in the north-east corner are to be seen traces

CAPITAL: SOUTH QUIRE AISLE

of painting. That to the east appears to have a nimbed figure with two Noah's Ark-looking trees in the background on either side of the head. In the sky there appear remains of a legend in a rectangular frame. On the other pillar the picture was within an inch wide frame, but there is very little to be seen except a fragment of the dexter side of a coat of arms: quarterly (1) vairey arg: and or 3 lozenges gu (2) —— (3) ? arg: a double-headed eagle displayed bearing on the breast an escutcheon gu: (4) ——. (for this coat cf. Harl. MS. 1754, ff. 36b, *et sqq*). Below appears another tree, part of a second picture, also in a frame. The style of the work seems to suggest seventeenth century although the coat of arms might possibly be earlier. At the south-east corner is a Perpendicular piscina, and on the floor below are two tapering stone coffin lids now so worn as to show no floriated cross, such as one of them formerly possessed. These are further results of Mr. Billings's discoveries during his reparations, as set forth in the "Gentleman's Magazine." One coffin was found between the piers of the second bay on the south side of the quire. It contained the body of an ecclesiastic in a richly diapered dress and with a pewter chalice and paten on his breast. Exposure to the air led to the usual crumbling away to dust with the exception of the tibia of the left leg and the velvet shoe belonging to the left foot! The other coffin lay in the middle of the quire with a body habited similarly to the other and with a chalice and paten at its feet. Presumably these were the remains of sometime priors, but they could not be identified. The east end of

this aisle, according to Dr. Ingram, was formerly railed off for a chantry chapel, and in his day it was here that the bishops received the temporalities

PERPENDICULAR PISCINA

of their See. On the walls are one or two interesting modern monuments, as, for example, that to Prince Leopold Duke of Albany, who in 1872 matriculated at Christ Church, several to professors and canons

of recent times, and the most charming and delicate medallion to Sarah, wife of Henry Acland. This lady died in 1878, and it is in her memory that the Home for Nurses was founded in the Banbury Road. Against the south-east tower pier is a large engaged column, of which it will be noticed that the recessed portion of the base has a classical-looking dentil ornament, which occurs also in the bands on one or two of the vaulting shafts in the quire, and there is the break in the jointing to be remembered. Opposite this pillar stands the late Gothic tomb of Robert King, the last Abbot of Oseney and the first Bishop of Oxford. It is a comparatively unpretentious altar tomb of Purbeck marble, with three panels in front diapered with quatrefoils. Each panel has in the middle a shield stripped of the metal coat of arms which it formerly bore, as is shown by the holes for the rivets and the shallow channels for pouring in the lead with which the rivets were bedded. On the bevelled edge of this top slab is an inscription in brass as follows: *Hic jacet Robertus Kyng Sacre Theologie Professor et prim̄s Ep̄us Oxon̄ qui obijt quarto die Decembris Anno Domini Mill^imo Quingent^imo Quinquag^imo Septimo* . . . The last words from and including "Domini" are a modern restoration, while the part on the short western face is still missing. The tomb was formerly let into the wall beneath the adjoining window, where the bishop is depicted in the glass.

At this point we are really in the east aisle of the south transept, and a few steps bring us into the chapel of St. Lucy or the Old Vestry, which is,

Photograph] [*Photochrom Co.*

THE LATIN CHAPEL

in fact, an elongated bay of this aisle. In this respect the idea of the original design is more or less preserved here, whereas, in the north transept, the corresponding chapels have completely disappeared. Even here, however, alterations have taken place, for the double piscina in the south wall, with its traces of red colouration, shows the extent eastwards of the original Norman work. Some time in the first half of the fourteenth century the chapel was enlarged to its present dimensions and the east window put up. In the centre is the font, a gift in 1882 from the Heurtley family. Previous to this it is very doubtful whether the Cathedral ever possessed such a thing, although there is a record that in the time of Cyril Jackson an order was given that a marble font with a silver gilt basin should be made. Apparently this was never done, probably because there was little need for it. Some time in the sixteenth century the door leading out into the cemetery in the south-east corner was probably made, which seems to suggest that services had long ceased to be held in this chapel. Hereabouts is the burial place for many cavaliers, who were either killed or were brought here to die of their wounds received during the Civil War. High up on the north wall is a tablet to Sir Henry Gage, sometime Governor of Oxford, who at the fight of Culham Bridge in 1644 was killed *plumbea trajectus glande*. This knight's monument together with that of Sir William Pennyman, Bt. d. 1643 of camp fever, were both ordered to be defaced, " with all others scandalous to the Parliament." On the floor is a very large stone to

Major-General Sir John Smith (d. 1644) setting forth the bravery he exhibited at the battle of Edgehill in rescuing with his own hand the Royal Standard when it had been captured by the Roundheads. Above the door is an oval tablet to Dr. Gardiner, d. 1570, whose gift of the leaden figure of Mercury as a fountain head in Tom Quad is therein referred to by comparison with his generosity, which is said to have flowed like his Mercury !

Turning from here into the south transept proper, there is little to see on the ground floor except a few tombs more pretentious than important, and a small recess with ogee-shaped opening in the south-west pillar about 3 ft. from the ground, which was probably a holy water stoup to serve the entrance in from the cloisters at this point. The west wall bonded into the two piers is a filling in of the fifteenth century, when the cloisters were enlarged at the expense of the transept aisle. It would seem that almost from the beginning this transept has never been really more than two bays in length, because the end bay was taken in almost as soon as it was built for the purpose of giving access from the cloisters to the cemetery beyond by means of a " slype " or passage way. That it was stolen from the transept is proved by Buckler's drawings at the restoration time, when two large Norman piers with their capitals were found built round in the *south* wall of the upper room. This chamber was probably for use as a sacristy, and perhaps to serve the monks as a connexion between their dormitory and the church, while in the eighteenth century it was adapted and added to as a

"desirable residence" for the verger! To-day it is almost all new work except one corbel bearing the mask of a grotesque cat, a small double locker or aumbry, and another little recess. Formerly there was also a niche 9 ft. high and 1 ft. wide, perhaps intended to house the pastoral staff. Above this is a gallery, now used as a little museum, where may be seen a few pieces of worked stone. Some are cushion capitals, one or two have the axe cut diamond pattern, and many have chevron mouldings after the style of the Chapter House door, which may support the opinions of Messrs. Parker and Brakspear (*v.* p. 22); the rest, including two pieces of beak head moulding, are mainly late Norman and onwards to modern times. Two things, however, are worth special notice. Firstly, on the table there is the upper end of a flat tomb slab showing a crude human face, with semi-circles of concentric lines covering the rest of the slab, which probably dates from Saxon times. Secondly there is a most interesting square block of stone carved on all four sides. On the top in the middle is a largish socket with two smaller openings, one on either side. This

SAXON TOMB SLAB

relic was found in 1833 incorporated in the south-east buttress of St. Lucy's Chapel, and for long gave rise to speculation as to its purpose, but now that it has been retrieved, and shows the sockets, it is evidently the rood of a preaching cross. After many years of neglect and exposure to the weather the surface of the stone has perished to a great extent.

BASE OF CROSS

The sides illustrated here represent (1) Isaac calmly sitting cross-legged on the altar of sacrifice the while that Abraham's uplifted sword is stayed by a hand emerging from a cloud. At the side a much-worn ram can be discerned caught in a still more crumbling thicket, (2) is a puzzle. In the centre sits a man holding what might be a large pen in his right hand, and an indistinguishable mass, possibly a book, in his left. On either side a figure turns away

from him draped in flowing robes and with what looks pretty clearly to be a hood or cowl on its back. The heads do not seem to be human at all, for to a very round skull with deep-set eyes there is added a pronounced snout. Some have thought the scene to be the Three Young Men in the burning fiery furnace, and Dr. Ingram suggested the departure of Isaac and Ishmael from Abraham or God sitting in judgment upon the sons of men (Rev. xx. 11, 12), but there is hardly enough detail left to afford a real clue. The other two sides show (1) what looks like part of a gigantic ammonite with feet, but the inner and lower parts at any rate are, of course, a human figure, before which kneels a headless animal with cloven hoof, while, above, a hand appears holding out two tiny tablets. Clearly the giving of the Tables of the Law to Moses and the Golden Calf. The last side depicts Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, with the Serpent entwined about the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, which stands between them. It is possible that we may see here the remains of the cross, which is traditionally said to have been in the middle of the monastery forecourt. Two small corbels, presumably of the fifteenth century, may just be noted at the triforium level of the north-east bay.

The Jacobean pulpit is a good example of its kind (opp. p. 152). The corner parts of its hexagonal body are of an imbricated leaf or fir cone pattern, with the usual type of strapwork on the panels. It has a slender base or stem formed of queer caryatid figures and an openwork cover with ribs surmounted by a pelican and with an edging of

fleur-de-lis and pyramids. In days gone by it was used as a canopy over the bishop's throne.

At the entrance to the south nave aisle is the bust of Edward Pocock, S.T.D. (d. 1691), in cap and gown, perpetuating the memory of a famous Oriental scholar, as does also a fig tree planted by him against the wall of the house occupied by the Professor of Hebrew. It must not be forgotten that we are really in the south transept aisle, proof of which, if wanted, is found in the ribs of the vaulting, which correspond to those in that of the north transept, and not with the rest of those in the south nave aisle which have the Gothic fillet.

It remains to look into the nave once more, partly for the sake of a few details and also to get a final impression of the dignified Norman work, and the glorious vaulting of the quire. The ceiling need not detain us, for, although probably on the old lines, it was in 1816 completely renewed. Close by the pulpit is a tablet to the versatile Dean Aldrich, with a crowned and winged skull as an added attraction! On the floor is the gravestone, now fast wearing away, of Dr. E. B. Pusey, of Tractarian fame, and quite at the west end on the south and north-west piers are tablets to Dean Paget and his wife. On the former pier is also a plate to mark the spot where Canon H. P. Liddon was wont to pray.

CHAPTER IV

Stained Glass

THIS essentially ecclesiastical handicraft is quite well represented in the Cathedral, and although the collection does not include any example as early as that in Merton Chapel, for instance, there is a little something to show representative of most of the succeeding periods. Not only so, but in respect of one or two minor detail points of quite considerable interest arise.

It will be best dealt with chronologically, and we will therefore start with the earliest example, dating from about the middle of the fourteenth century, which will be found both in the Latin and St. Lucy's Chapels. Prior to Dean Duppa's vandalism, there is a record of a good deal more, possibly of this same period, but most of it had to go to make way for later productions, and so to-day there is not a great deal remaining. However, what is left is very well worth having, and that there should even be such substantial crumbs left from the former feast is something for which to be thankful.

Taking the Latin Chapel first, it will be noticed that the general scheme is to have a series of lights decorated with quarries which serve as a background to a broad band of figures under canopies. Beginning at the western end, the first window has

(1) St. Catherine of Alexandria, with her wheel in the left hand and her sword in right; (2) the Madonna and Child on a blue background. The former has a gold crown with a ruby halo, and is

IDEOGRAPH

wearing a white over a red robe. (3) St. ? Anne in a blue mantle fastened with a morse or clasp, holding in her right hand a sceptre, and in her left a book. Of these, the centre light is worth special notice. Our Lady is represented holding a sprig of hawthorn, bearing three stalks, each with a flower, in her right hand and standing with Our Lord on her left arm,

Photograph] [*G. Chaundy*

THE "WATCHING CHAMBER"

clasping in His left hand a round disc divided into three portions containing respectively a church, a tree with three branches, and the usual heraldic wavy lines for water. These details are thought to be an ideographic allusion to the foundation by St. Frideswide of the church of the "Holy Trinity and St. Mary by the Thames," at Binsey, close to the upper river. It has already been mentioned that an early name for this place was Thornberrie, and as the sprig held by the Blessed Virgin has quite the appearance of hawthorn the connexion will be obvious; the details on the disc appear to refer more definitely to the same thing. The first and last lights have a nice vine leaf border, while the centre has one of fleur-de-lis. The quarries have a delightful and dainty design of oak leaves and acorns on branchlets growing from a main stem and twining and spreading around irrespective of the leading. The greater number of the quarries in all these windows are modern copies of the few old specimens remaining, which are mixed in with the new work. In the tracery lights are the Courtenay arms (three torteaux with a label of three points), probably, as Mr. Grinling suggests, for William Courtenay, Chancellor of the University, 1367–9, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. There are also heads of a bishop and a king in medallions surrounded with a vine pattern.

The next picture eastwards depicts the Annunciation. In the first light the angel Gabriel bears the legend "Ave Maria," while in the third light the Blessed Virgin stands in an attitude of receiving the message. Both these figures and their canopies

are on a smaller scale than the rest, and on a bright green background. The drawing suggests a slightly earlier date perhaps than the other figures. Between them stands an archbishop wearing alb, chasuble, and pallium, in the act of blessing, and holding in his left hand a curious combination of pastoral staff and archiepiscopal cross. This mixture is very unusual, and can only be paralleled, according to Mr. W. H. Turner, by the representation upon Archbishop Sterne's tomb in York Minster. The glass has been a good deal damaged, and the fact that part of the crosier staff is of a more greenish yellow than the rest raises the suspicion that this peculiarity may be nothing more than a later repair by an ignorant workman. The border to this light is also interesting, containing as it does fleurs-de-lis and all sorts of imaginary winged beasts, with owls and storks. The other borders have the same vine leaf design as before. The quarries in this window seem to represent a conventional Avens or Geum.

CROSS-STAFF

The adjoining and last of these early windows has (1) St. Margaret with a cross and palm branch, (2) St. Frideswide with a cross, and (3) St. Catherine again, but this time with the sword in her left hand and the wheel in her right. The centre light has a border of fleurs-de-lis alternately with leopards' heads, while the outside borders have the usual vine leaf, with that on the extreme right depicting a monkey at the bottom in the act of climbing up

the stem. The quarries are almost exactly the same as in the previous window. Most of the tracery lights are modern, with the exception of the two medallions showing the Holy Dove descending upon Our Lord's head below.

DETAIL OF BORDER

Inspection shows that this glass has been much mutilated and pieced together again, and the probability is that these figures are not in their original position. Buckler tells us that c.1820 much old glass was destroyed and some moved from the great window of the north transept and put in Wolsey's window at the west end of the nave ; Ingram refers to this last, and mentions fragments therein relating to St. Frideswide, St. Catherine, St. Lucy, and others. These names seem to tally more or less with those in the Latin Chapel, and, if identical, then this glass has been moved at least twice before, so that, considering its travels round the building, we must be thankful that any at all should have survived shipwreck. There is no reason to think that the glass in the head tracery is anywhere but in its original position.

The other example of this period in the window of St. Lucy's Chapel is worth even more careful examination, and what will especially strike the eye is the fact that the colouring is infinitely richer than what we have just left. Mr. King says that the Becket scene came from the north transept ; the drawing certainly seems more archaic, but so far as

is known the bulk of the glass is in its original position. It would be just as well to bring a pair of glasses to bear on this window as there is much small detail, and then, starting at the top, we see Our Lord in the apex sitting with both hands raised in blessing upon a background of yellow and blue mosaic diaper. Immediately beneath is an angel swinging a censer on a background of twining foliage, the stem of which issues from the mouth of a dog of the talbot type. Below, again, on either side is a monk kneeling in prayer, with the small tracery spaces between them filled with a mosaic diaper of blue squares separated by strips of red. The arms are those of England and of France (old style), that is: the field sown with fleur-de-lis instead of only three. Mr. Grinling was inclined to think that these shields might be modern glass, but the appearance of their reverse sides as seen from the cemetery will not support his idea. On the next row beneath are winged beasts with human heads. That on the extreme right has a hand holding aloft an axe, next to this is a kind of winged amphisbaena, as the tail ends in a head; next, again, are two creatures with tails ending in foliage, followed by something with a dog's body, a tail ending in a head, and, in front, the head and shoulders of a man blowing a trumpet, with what looks as though it might be a full moon behind. Starting from the left on the next line below there are a boar (?), a monkey, foliage, a winged ram, a man with a spear seated, and finally a bird. Yet once more from the right, in the large openings, St. Augustine of Hippo teaching his monks with an almost undecipherable and syncopated legend across

him which, according to the Rev. E. C. Bouchier, reads, "*Mte : pia : diligit : ds*" (God loves a pious mind), the murder of St. Thomas Becket, and St. Martin on a blue and red mosaic diaper. In the lowest row of all, starting from the left, are a crowned woman's head with hair puffed out and confined in a caul, St. Cuthbert holding St. Oswald's head in commemoration of the fact that the King after his death was buried in the same tomb as the saint on the island of Lindisfarne (see coloured plate). Next comes St. Blaise, the patron of woolcombers, with a background and border similar to the last, and finally another woman's head crowned.

MURDER OF BECKET

Just a word must be said about the murder of Becket, which every visitor religiously comes to see. The story is familiar enough to most—how that the four knights, De Tracy, De Morville, Le Breton, and Fitz-Urse, acting at least on Henry II's known desires even if not with his direct authority, followed the Archbishop into his cathedral at Canterbury on December 29, 1171, and murdered him in the north transept. Here Becket is shown kneeling down, with the four knights crowding round to do him to death, while close by stands the foreign

monk, Grimm, striving in vain to protect the Archbishop with the latter's cross-staff. The knights are represented in chain mail, with shields bearing, with one exception, rather imaginary coats of arms, and brandishing swords. The particular type of chain mail here portrayed is that known as "banded mail," where the rings are supposed to have been strung on leathern thongs. Years ago there used to be much discussion as to its exact character, but the best modern opinion, headed by the late Sir Guy Laking, now considers it to be nothing more than a casual variation from the conventional way of depicting ordinary chain mail. Of course, the great point is the piece of white glass which takes the place of Becket's head! It will be remembered that Henry VIII is said to have solemnly cited the dead archbishop to appear and answer a charge of treason. In the absence of any defence the Archbishop was condemned as a traitor, denied his title of saint, and, as if the King could not go far enough, it was formally ordered that his name should be expunged from all calendars, service books, and elsewhere, aye, and even his very representation in glass or otherwise obliterated. This fantastic and childish order was nevertheless obeyed throughout the land to a very remarkable extent, so that the saint's name and features to-day are difficult to find at all in ancient work. Hence the piece of white glass! However, Oxford does possess in point of fact in the library of Trinity College a piece of fifteenth-century glass depicting his murder and Becket therein complete, but it is not usually shown to the general public.

The succeeding century is not represented in the Cathedral at all, and for sixteenth-century examples it is necessary to go round to the Chapter House, where there is quite an appreciable amount and some of a very charming description. There is also some seventeenth-century work in the same place, which will now be taken in at the same time with the rest, so that the glass here may be finished off in one visit.

Beginning, then, at the top of the north window, and working down, we see (1) a seventeenth-century panel with a border of gilliflowers, or carnations, and a five-petalled blue flower; at the bottom are the letters A D H W : A D H I : A D H V :, the centre of the panel is made up of three different fragments. (2) Arms of See of London imp : " arg : a chevron gu : between three ravens' heads erased sa : a mullet or for difference " (Ravis), the inscription below says that Thomas Ravis was translated to London about Easter, 1607. (3) Royal arms. (4) Arms of See of Hereford imp : " az : a cross or between 4 calthrops of the second " (Westfaling), inscription says, *Herbertus Westfaling Episcopus Herefordensis obiit* 1602. (5) A panel showing Our Lord before Pilate, who is washing his hands; the pencilling of the heads and faces is exceedingly fine, and appears to be German work of the sixteenth century. South-east window from the top : (1) Panel made up of pieces, date at foot ? 1619. (2) Arms of Westfaling. (3) " A leopard's head az : upon a crown or with a circular border gu : the whole enwreathed vert," one of Wolsey's badges. (4) Arms of the See of Wells imp : " or two lions

passant sa : langued gu : on a dexter canton of the second, three besants of the field " (Godwyn), inscription, *Thomas Godwyn Decanus cons in Wellen A°* 1584. (5) Figure of Cardinal Wolsey in rich blue cloak and a hat with gilt cords holding a book. (6) Pilate in a blue robe and Our Lord before him in black ; very dull, poor glass. Can this be some of the work of William Price ? (p. 94). (7) Madonna and Child. Our Lady in an ermine coat over which is a blue mantle, by her side a vase with a lily, all on a ruby background. Legend, *Ora pro nobis*, etc., date 1519. South-west window, from the top : (1) Vase filled with the Madonna Lily. (2) Arms, " az : a chevron engrailed arg : between 3 leopards' heads cabossed of the same " (Eedes, Dean of Worcester, d. 1604). (3) " An archiepiscopal cross in pale on two picks in saltire within a green imbricated wreath," another of Wolsey's devices. (4) Arms of the See of Ely imp : quarterly, 1 and 4, " arg : on a bend dexter sa : three bulls' heads of the field " (Heton) 2 and 3 " arg : a moor's head couped sa : between three fleurs-de-lis of the same " (?), inscription, " Martin Heton, Dean of Winton and Preb. of Ch. Ch., made Bp. of Ely, 1599, where he was 9 years and 6 months—died 1609." (5)" Our Lady in an aureole within a bordure gu." Wolsey's motto, *Dominus michi adjutor*, was formerly round his badges and elsewhere in the Cathedral and College, for Mr. W. Turner, in his " Records of the City of Oxford," quotes a Bodleian MS. under the year 1546, " to Mr. Nycolson the glasyer for his worke at Fryswithes and for his glasse of the armes and ymages . . . viij^{li}." Gutch, in his " Collectanea,"

ST. FRIDESWIDE'S SHRINE

also refers to this man as having put up some 246 bends or labels with Wolsey's motto.

On the staircase up to the inner room: (1) The letter M with Our Lady depicted on the centre limb. (2) The sacred monogram, on the I is the figure of the Blessed Virgin, on the two limbs of the H the Crucifixion with a soul in the mouth of Hell amid

SACRED MONOGRAM

flames below and the figure of St. John, and on the S are emblems of the Passion, viz. the spear, the reed with a sponge tied on the top, three scourges, and a diminutive pillar. The whole is very delicately worked out in yellow lining and is of considerable interest. (3) Practically the same as (1), but perhaps a little earlier in date. There are also some nice quarries in the window, and scraps in the

border round. In his day Mr. R. J. King tells us that these sacred monograms and Wolsey's badges were in the east window of the Lady Chapel.

Now, unfortunately, comes the real era of destruction and the substitution of painted for stained glass. This new fashion allowed the old difficulty of outline leading to be avoided and consequently greater pictorial effects to be obtained ; but only at the cost of true art, for, in addition to the resulting colour being opaque and heavy looking, the whole idea was now the transference of a painted picture on to glass, a medium quite unsuited to such a purpose. This method also brought further destruction in its train, for mullions and comparatively narrow lights did not lend themselves to pictorial effects. Larger individual areas were required, and, too, how easily obtained! Dean Duppa in 1630 showed the simplicity of the business by merely knocking out the old mullions and tracery and substituting the inspiringly simple design, of which a solitary example remains at the west end of the north nave aisle. Abraham van Linge was then called in to fill with glass in the last new mode the gaps created by the dean, but by a kind of retributive vengeance hardly anything of his work remains in the Cathedral to-day. A MS. in the British Museum (Sloane, 1435, f. 122), however, gives us a good deal of information in a quaint way about this Flemish glass, and this must be the excuse for quoting portions of it. It is a rhyming defence of the new glass against the objections to it raised by a certain extreme Puritan from Banbury, and opens with many lines upholding the view that

there is nothing wrong in setting out the House of God and its services in decent and comely fashion :

'Tis only some base niggard heresie
To thinke Relligion loves Deformitie.
Glory did never yet make God ye lesse,
Neither can Beauty defile Holinesse.

* * * *

You dare admit gay Paint upon a wall,
Why, then, on Glass ist held Apochryphall ?

* * * *

Shall we love Darkness and abhorre ye Sun
Cause Persians gave it Adoration,
Or Plant noe Orchards because Apples first
Made Adam and his lineall race accurst ?

* * * *

Remember Aaron's Roabes and you will say
Ladies at Masques are not so rich as they.
Then are the Preist's words Thunderclaps when he
Is, lightning like, ray'd round with Maiestie.
May every Temple shine like those of Nile
But still be free from Rat or Crocodile.

This goes on for a very long time, and, indeed, there seems no particular reason why it should come to an end ! However, at length the writer comes to the windows, which he describes very shortly and pithily, of course exaggerating the vividness and skill of the work. He refers to the Resurrection and the Entombment, Jonah and the Whale :

Jonas his whale did all men's eyes so foole
That they'ld have beg'd it for the Anatomie Schoole !

Moses is shown smiting the Rock in the Wilderness :

So from a Touch of Moses' Rod does jumpe
A Cataract, the Rocke becomes a Pumpe ;
At sight of whose o'erflowing many get
Themselves away for feare of being wet !

The finding of Moses by Pharaoh's daughter, Jacob receiving Isaac's blessing, Abraham sacrificing Isaac, the Feast of Pentecost, Animals in the Ark, Entry of Christ into Jerusalem (in north transept window), Jonah and Nineveh (formerly in the south aisle), the destruction of Sodom (dated 1634), Elijah carried up to Heaven in his fiery chariot :

> Ther's motion painted, too, Chariots so fast
> Run, that they're alwayes gone though neuer past.

The Cleansing of the Temple, the Miraculous Draught of Fishes, and Christ disputing with the Doctors (in the east window of the Divinity Chapel, 1640) : all these give some idea of van Linge's labour. This, too, at a time when he was also doing similar work for several colleges.

Of all this galaxy of biblical representation, only one complete specimen remains to-day in the picture of Nineveh with Jonah under the gourd, which will be found at the west end of the north nave aisle. Here, on the left, is seen the prophet sitting under a gloomy dark green tree, among the leaves of which appear what look for all the world like golden bells. On the right stands Nineveh, with its harbour and ships, at the bottom, and the city piling itself up ever higher and higher upon the steep hill behind. As a work of art it has been already shown to be but a perverted form of true glass-craft, and the interest lies solely in the quaintness of the idea and the ingenuity of the draughtsman. The portrayal of minutiae, so dear to the heart of a Flemish artist, provides an extraordinary fascination in the attempt to pick out all sorts of tiny details in the distant " land-

skip," and a few minutes spent before this and, say, the east window of Lincoln College Chapel, among others in Oxford, will afford quite a considerable amount of interest and amusement. In the apex of this window are arms, presumably of the donor, not easy to see, but appearing to be " gu : three demi-wildmen arg : each bearing a club or an annulet (? crescent) for difference," crest a demi-wildman with some astonishingly crude and debased mantling. At the bottom runs the legend giving the donor as " Carolus Su[n]banke Pr[aebendar] Windsor S.T.P. hū Eccl : ol[im] Alu[mnus D D]," together with the signature " Abraham van Linge fecit 163 ? " The missing figure is obliterated by a leading.

In the heads of the long lights in St. Lucy's Chapel are mere fragments of similar work, and in the south quire aisle is the window to Bishop King what may or may not be by van Linge, for it has no signature nor does it seem to be mentioned in the above-quoted " Defence." On the other hand, it certainly seems much after the same style, and Mr. A. W. Clapham, F.S.A., has recently pointed out that a window by Abraham's brother Bernard in Lincoln's Inn Chapel in London shows in its background a tower and gable end of a church strangely like those portrayed here and generally supposed to represent Oseney Abbey. The window here shows the bishop standing in mitre and cope with pastoral staff and vexillum. Above are his arms quarterly 1 and 4 " sa : a lion rampant ducally crowned between three cross crosslets or," 2 and 3 " gu : 3 lions passant guardant in pale arg : within a bordure engrailed or," crest,

out of a ducal coronet or a demi-ostrich argent. On one side of his head are the arms of the See of Oxford, and on the other those of Oseney Abbey, each impaling King. In 1651, when the window was in danger of being broken up, a certain member of the bishop's family took it out bodily and stored it away safely until better times should come. On the return of Charles II the window likewise came back, together with certain other things, as will be later mentioned. The window has been reproduced in Fowler's " Mosaics and Painted Glass."

Quite at the close of the century the Rev. Peter Birch, D.D., was moved to present a window to this Cathedral, although room could only be found for it by emptying van Linge's glass dated 1640 out of the east window of the quire. He accordingly employed Sir James Thornhill to work out a design, and the latter adapted Raphael's cartoon of the Nativity, which in 1696 William Price, the then premier glassworker, executed at a cost of £200. According to Dr. Ingram this was only the principal subject, for the blank spaces round seem to have been filled up with odds and ends, such as portraits of Henry VIII and Wolsey, together with some of the latter's mottoes and sundry coats of arms. Four years later one Isaac Oliver copied the Raphael cartoon of St. Peter delivered by the angel from prison, and gave to the College his work, which was put in the north aisle. As he was the nephew of the two miniaturists Peter and Isaac Oliver, it may be that his work was good, but it no longer exists, and the main fact in connexion with it is that the artist was aged 84 at the time that he produced his gift.

In the year 1846 there came more trouble for the long-suffering big east window. This year was the tercentenary of the founding of the College—what could be better than stained glass to commemorate the event ?—and away went Dr. Birch's £200 into space ! to be replaced by French glass of a most lurid and garish description. If the reader doubts the writer's word, let him cast his eye upward to the transept clerestory, where he will see remains of the effort by the brothers Henri and Alfred Gérente to depict events in the life of Our Lord from the design of Mr. Hudson, the surveyor of the Cathedral.

Up to the time of Dean Liddell it would seem that a certain amount of Flemish glass had been saved, but it is to be feared that with the opening of the Burne-Jones era this older glass finally disappeared. The impulse was given by a bequest from Dr. John Bull, d. 1858, and Mr. E. Burne-Jones, as he then was, received a commission to design his first window, that, in fact, which is now at the east end of the Latin Chapel. How far visitors join in Dr. Dearmer's tremendous enthusiasm and agree with his super-fervent references to the " unapproachable beauty " of the window and the artist's " incomparable work " can best be ascertained by standing in the chapel for a time and listening to the various comments ; at any rate, it is said that the artist himself was dissatisfied, and even offered to supply another window instead free of charge, but that Dr. Bull's executors expressed themselves as content, and refused to make any change. When the window is examined at close quarters the details are found to be cleverly and

interestingly worked out, but the small panels are too crowded with figures which lack a sufficient background, with the result, at a distance, that there is a spotty kaleidoscopic effect which conveys no meaning to the eye. In this respect it is but fair to the artist to say that, according to Dr. Dearmer, the architect, Mr. Woodward, being at the time sick unto death, made a mistake in the measurements he gave to Mr. Burne-Jones. This involved a compulsory reduction of each panel afterwards, which adversely affected the proportions of the design. The prevailing red colour also seems too insistent at a distance and requires something to cool it. On the other hand, judged from the standpoint of technique, there is no doubt, as the late Mr. Lewis F. Day said, that it is more genuinely a glass window than the others he has done here. In this case pieces of stained glass are fitted together on the old lines, whereas in the other cases the impression is more that of a picture transferred to glass so that the resulting effect is somewhat unreal. The subject of the window is scenes from the life of St. Frideswide. Taking the lights in order, starting on the left and reading downwards from the top in each case. *First light.* (1) St. F. and companions brought up by St. Cecilia and St. Catherine. (2) St. F. founds her first convent. (3) Messenger from Algar demands her in marriage. (4) The prince comes to take her by force and break up of the first convent. *Second light.* (1) and (2) Flight to Bampton. (3) Algar and soldiers in pursuit. (4) St. F. takes refuge in the pigsty. *Third light.* (1) St. F. goes to Binsey. (2) Algar in pursuit.

Photograph] [*G. Chaundy*

THE LATIN CHAPEL : GLASS

(3) St. F. founds a convent at Binsey. (4) Her merciful deeds. *Fourth light.* (1) St. F. returns to Oxford. (2) Siege of Oxford by Algar. (3) Algar struck blind. (4) Death of St. F. In the head tracery appears the Ship of Souls attended by angels, and on either side the Trees of Life and of Knowledge of Good and Evil. The glass was made by Messrs. Powell, of Whitefriars, and the stone tracery, the carving on which was done by Mr. James O'Shea, was designed by Messrs. Deane and Woodward, the architects of the University Museum.

The remaining windows by Sir E. Burne-Jones, executed by Messrs. Morris & Faulkner, are of a totally different character. That in the east window of the Lady Chapel is commonly known as the "Vyner" window, having been put in to commemorate the murder by brigands in Greece of Fredk. Grantham Vyner, a member of the "House." The legend at the bottom is pregnant with meaning, "Ye shall have tribulation ten days, Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life." The mention of "ten days" refers to the tragedy of his death. As a relative of Lord Ripon, he was travelling with the latter's party near Marathon, when they were captured by brigands. The price of release was put at £30,000 payable within ten days, and Frederick Vyner was deputed to go and raise the money. Among the company, however, was a near relative of his who was a married man, and young Vyner offered to stay behind, and arranged for his relation to go instead. Meanwhile the Greek government had laid such plans as were thought certain to result in the capture

of the brigands on the last day of grace, and therefore, although it was forthcoming to time, would not allow the ransom to be paid over. Then came the tragedy, for the Government's plans failed, the brigands escaped, and the whole party was murdered. The adjoining window deals with the life of St. Cecilia, the patron saint of musicians, and was presented in 1875 by Dr. C. W. Corfe, the Cathedral organist. The tradition is that the saint's executioners tried to boil her to death in a bath, and, failing in the attempt, took her out and killed her with the sword, as is depicted in the bottom right-hand panel. Here, also, may be seen the signature to the window, "E.B.J. inv : C.F.M. pinx." The upper figures represent Samuel, David, St. John, and St. Timothy.

Passing over into the south quire aisle, Sir E. Burne-Jones there tells in brief the story of St. Catherine of Alexandria as (1) she disputes with the philosophers, (2) dreams that she is led by the Blessed Virgin into the presence of Our Lord, who is seated upon a purply company of cherubs, and (3) is laid in her tomb by angels. The main centre light shows the saint herself with the features of Edith Liddell, whose early death the window commemorates ; on the left the angel of suffering and submission, with a cloth covering her mutilated hands, and the wheel of torture beside her, and on the right the angel of deliverance treading the broken wheel underfoot (see illus. opp. p. 104). At the western end of the south nave aisle is the last example of the same artist's work, showing the figures of Hope, Charity, and Faith, with four smaller figures above playing musical instruments.

In the bottom right-hand corner is a coat of arms, " arg : on a fess sa : between a horse's head erased in chief and a cross crosslet fitchée in base both of the second three besants or," with an inscription dated 1870 to Edward Denison, sometime a member of the College and afterwards a M.P. and the founder of " Settlements " in London.

Returning to the crossing under the tower note the quiet-looking glass, put into the gable of the south transept in 1891 in memory of H. P. Liddon, which takes the form of a " Jesse " window with Old Testament kings and priests. Turning round we meet the direct antithesis of the last in the north transept window, which the Rev. R. St. J. Tyrrwhitt somewhat unkindly said "glows with all the fires which a fervid fancy can bestow on the inwards of the Dragon." For himself, the writer is not disposed to quarrel with the colour which can well be borne in a window facing north, and comes as a not unwelcome relief after the watery weakness of the later Burne-Jones work ; rather, if there is to be criticism, does the doubt occur as to whether it is wise to spread one single design over a many-light window. It appears to be, in fact, a kind of compromise between the two methods, an attempt to render in the stained material of the earlier school the pictorial design of the later, and needs to be looked at from a far greater distance away than is possible here. The subject is, of course, St. Michael, with his angels, fighting against the Dragon, and is carried out with a great sense of life and vigour. In the head tracery, and also at the bottom of the left-hand light, appear, among various other coats of arms,

those relating to the Kerr family, and the whole window was put up in memory of William the eighth, and Schomberg the ninth, Earls of March, in 1872. Both these transept windows were designed and executed by Messrs. Clayton & Bell, as are also those at the east end of the quire, of which the rose was given by Dr. Liddon and the two below by Sir John Mowbray, M.P. for the University. By the same firm is the north-east window of the Latin Chapel, put up in 1880 to the memory of Archdeacon Clerke, whose crest of a ram's head is worked into the border.

S'OVG
BURG

CHAPTER V

PLATE

EVEN if St. Frideswide's may never have ranked as one of the larger and more important monasteries, we see from the inventories which have come down to us that there was at least an "elegant sufficiency" of plate and that the church was properly equipped in that respect.

Unfortunately there is no inventory earlier than Henry VIII, and comparatively few extracts to be gleaned prior to that date. The Shrine of St. Frideswide was certainly decked with valuable offerings, for in this connexion we get a note from Ant. à Wood (MS. F29A), that blessed and almost inexhaustible fount of information, that, in 1466, one David, a scholar of Beme Hall, robbed the Shrine of jewels. Mention may also be made of a small gilt crucifix decorated with champlevé enamel and precious stones, discovered on the site of the priory gardens in the seventeenth century, and now to be seen in the Ashmolean Museum.

As if to make up for lack of early details, the sixteenth century provides several lists from which a few extracts will be taken. The first list is to be found in Gutch's "Collectanea," Vol. II, under 17 Henry VIII (1525), and is that of the plate intended by Wolsey for the College, which included

" oone Crucifix with Mary and John silvar and gilte inamylid with a highe foote to stand upon a Aultar " ; " oone great Nutte with a Cover gilte and upon the cover a Image of Sante Fryswurthe gravyn " ; " oone peyre of great gilte Candilsteks costid with wrethin shanks and a chasid knoppe in the myddes " ; " oone Sensar gilte withe Cheynes of Silvar garnyshyd withe the Apostills Sent Andrew and Sent Petar and Sent Paule." These and much more were made by Robert Amadas, the goldsmith, apparently from older plate melted down.

From " An Account of the Monastic Treasures confiscated at the Dissolution," by Sir John Williams, Knt., treasurer of the jewels to Henry VIII, we learn that he acknowledged to have received in 1543 from Dean John Oliver 153 oz. of silver gilt plate and 7 oz. of white altogether, over and besides £66 3s. " growinge of souche money as was defaced from the Shryne." About six months later he again gives a receipt for 107½ oz. to John Doylye, one of the commissioners, for the " dissolucon of the late College of St. Frydeswides." A final inventory relating to the " late colege of Sainete Ffrideswyde in Oxforthe, called King Henry the Eightes colege," taken in 1545, is given at length in Dugdale. From it we learn that, in addition to the High Altar, there were four altars spread among the three northern aisles, one each in the south quire aisle and St. Lucy's Chapel and two in the " Body of the Churche." These last would be the altars for the parishioners, presumably placed at about the east end of the nave. All had at least two sets of hangings. In the vestry there were

some twenty copes, a " sute of vestmentts," that is, a chasuble, dalmatic, and tunicle, for Celebrations, the usual white hangings for Lent, and some " Vestments for Coristers," which appear to have been three red damask tunicles with the accompanying albs and amices. The plate is given in detail, and makes quite a brave show, in spite of the ravages of Sir John Williams.

It is to be supposed that Henry VIII would leave his new Cathedral reasonably well equipped and that, in spite of Edward VI's commissioners, some valuables must have been saved and added to during Elizabeth's reign, for in 1643 plate with a weight of some 172 lbs. is found to have been the answer of the Cathedral Church of Christ to the call for money from King Charles I. There seems a little touch of irony in this generous response of the Cathedral to the King's demand, for it was only three years before that Dr. Richard Gardiner, one of the Canons, had published a sermon with a dedication to Bishop Bancroft. In this he extols his diocesan's bounty and goes on to record how that " to prevent a promiscuous imployment of our Cathedrall utensills your pious zeale hath stampt God's marke upon them, whereby none may dare to alter the propriety, nor pollute them with profane uses." It is to the loyalty of this same Richard Gardiner, who was dispossessed of his canonry in 1647, that the Cathedral has preserved to this day the only pre-Restoration articles of furniture for the altar which it possesses.

The following is a full list of the plate belonging to the Cathedral. The information relative to the

first five pieces has been, to a great extent, obtained from Mr. Moffat's book upon " Old Oxford Plate " : (1) Chalices, a pair, silver gilt, 1661. Cylindrical bowls on trumpet-shaped stems, with simply-moulded knops and spreading bases. Heavily ornamented with repoussé foliage and flowers. Height, $9\frac{1}{4}$ in., diam. at mouth 5 in., and at base $5\frac{1}{16}$ in. Maker's mark, P.B. between a crescent and two pellets above and below the letters in an escutcheon with blunt corners.

(2) Patens, a pair, to match the above chalices, with wide overlapping flanges and decoration similar to the chalices. Each has the usual foot. Diam. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. Same marks as chalices.

(3) Candlesticks, a pair, silver gilt, 1660–1. Prickets, with broad pan, cylindrical stems, knops and cord mouldings, resting on domed and circular feet supported by three lions couchant. Ornamentation same as chalices. Height to top of pans $16\frac{5}{8}$ in., diam. at base $10\frac{1}{4}$ in. Maker's mark, R A over a mullet with a pellet on either side in a heart-shaped shield.

(4) Almsdish, silver gilt, 1660. Rim graved heavily, enriched with three flowers (one of which is a rose occurring four times only) repeated six times. Centre of dish is sunk and ornamented with a large rose. Rim $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide, diam. of dish 19 in. Maker's mark T G between three pellets above and below in a circle.

(5) Flagons, a pair, silver gilt, 1661, to match the chalices. Tankard shaped with splayed feet embossed with roses, tulip, etc. Handles plain. Thumb pieces pierced with a heart. Covers flat,

Photograph *G. Chaundy*

THE SOUTH QUIRE AISLE : EAST WINDOW

domed. Height 12 in., diam. at mouth $5\frac{1}{2}$ in., and at base $9\frac{1}{16}$ in. Maker's mark as (2).

(6) Chalice, with cover, silver gilt, 1699–1700. Bowl plain, encircled half-way down by an embossed moulding, contained in foliage rising from stem. The latter has a large vase shaped knop with gadrooned top and foliage below. Bases spreading and gadrooned. Inscription inside beneath the foot, *Ecclesiae Christi Oxon. Legavit Gul. Stratford S.T.P., canonicus*, 1729, and on the bowl *Bibite ex Hoc omnes Hic est enim Sanguis meus Novi Testamenti.* Height $8\frac{3}{4}$ in., diam. of bowl $3\frac{3}{4}$ in., weight 24 oz. 10 dwt. Maker's mark, a fleur-de-lis with C.H. [for John Chartier] below, Britannia standard, London make. The cover is flat domed, with gadrooned edge, and in the centre foliage on which stands a cross botonnée for use as a handle. Has no marks, but the same inscription concerning Wm. Stratford, whose tablet is on the west wall of the south nave aisle.

(7) Chalice with cover. Exact replicas of (6) but with no inscriptions. Marks, 1874–5, ordinary standard, London ; maker, W.W.W. in rectangular shield. Beneath foot inside similar marks and "Lambert 12 Coventry St., London."

(8) Paten, to match (6), silver gilt. Centre sunk and engraved with "ACCEPIT JESUS PANEM ET BENEDIXIT AC FREGIT ET AIT ACCIPITE ET COMEDITE HOC EST CORPUS MEUM," the whole surrounded by a simply floreated border with a cross botonnée on the top. Edge moulded and gadrooned, stem short breaking into foliage at junction with paten. Similar inscription relating to W. Stratford. Diam. $8\frac{7}{8}$ in., weight 19 oz. 13 dwt. Marks as in (6).

(9) Almsdish, silver gilt. Centre sunk and engraved: "TVNC COLLECTAE FIANT," with a scrolled and foliated border. Rim moulded and gadrooned. Similar inscription relating to W. Stratford. Diam. $8\frac{3}{8}$ in., weight 14 oz. 8 dwt. Marks as in (6).

(10) Paten or dish, silver gilt, 1686. Plain, with simply moulded rim. Inscription at back, *Ecclesiae Christi Oxon.* Diam. $7\frac{1}{8}$ in., weight 9 oz. 1 dwt. Marks, standard, London. Maker, R.F. or ? F.R. in shaped shield.

(11) Paten or dish, silver gilt, 1698–9. Similar to (10). Diam. $7\frac{3}{8}$ in., weight 9 oz. 13 dwt. Marks, Britannia standard, London. Maker, P.A. [for Thomas Parr] in shaped shield.

(12) Dishes, a pair, silver gilt, 1719. Centre deeply sunk and engraved with the College arms in a scrolled and foliated border with a shell above and cherubs below, and a griffin on either side. Rim plain but thickened on the edge underneath. No inscription. Marks, Britannia standard, London. Maker, Michael Lofthouse.

(13) Dishes, a pair, silver gilt, 1874–5. Replicas of (12). Marks, Standard, London. Maker, A. S. in square shield, and "Lambert, Coventry St., London."

(14) Flagon, silver gilt, 1818–9. Cover domed and moulded. Handle plain, ending in a heart shape. Thumbpiece slightly gadrooned and continued over on to handle. Just below the spout are engraved the College arms ensigned with a cardinal's hat. Inscription inside base, *Philippus Boteler Philippi Boteler de Com. Cantü Baronette Filius natu maximus Ex Aede X^ti ad mensam Doctorum Commensalis*

D.D. Height 9½ in., diam. at mouth 3 in., at foot 5¼ in. Marks, Standard, London. Maker, { R. E. ? / E. H. ? perhaps Emes and Barnard.

(15) Chalice, bowl gold, stem and base silver with knop parcel gilt, 1874–5. Bowl plain with conventional foliage at base set with six diamonds, three turquoise, and three amethysts alternately. Stem 3 in. high with knop divided into little squares of perforated work by gilt straps. At points of intersection of straps are bosses with flat tops garnished alternately with an amethyst, an emerald, another amethyst, and a diamond. The two amethysts are set round with eight small diamonds and seven smaller amethysts respectively. The base is six-lobed, five of which have a precious stone set in, while the sixth carries a tiny crucifix with foliage on either side studded with diamonds. Inside the foot are inscribed the names of ten members of the Barnes family, with dates from 1823 to 1904. Height 8 in. Marks on bowl, 15·625 standard, London. Maker, I F [J. Foligno) and Keith & Co., London.

(16) Paten, silver, 1874-5. Slightly concave, with no foot, and engraved with a foliated equal armed cross within a cable moulding. Inscription at back, "✠ IN PIAM MEMORIAM HENRICI WENTWORTH ACLAND ET SARAE PARENTVM ✠ ET IN VSVM HVIVSCE ECCLESIAE HANC PATENAM CVM CALICE D.D. WILLELMVS ALISON DYKE ACLAND CLASSIS BRITANNIAE INTER PRAEFECTOS." Diam. 6½ in. Marks as (15), with standard silver mark substituted and figures 43 (changed to 41) by the side.

(17) Chalice, silver, 1894–5. Bowl bears inscription in O.E. lettering, *Accipiam ✠ calicem salutaris.* The knop on the stem is composed of a large crystal bound with strapwork, and simple bosses at the intersections. Spreading base of six lobes with quatrefoil perforations. Height, 7 in. Marks, Standard, London. Maker, C K and Krall in rectangular shields.

(18) Paten, silver, 1894–5, to match (17). Centre is sunk and gilt; on the rim in O.E. lettering, ✠ *Panem de coelo dedit Eis.* Diam. $5\frac{3}{16}$ in. Marks as (17).

(19) Cruet corks, a pair, silver gilt, 1894–5. Tops domed with cross above. Marks, Standard, London. Maker W K.

(20) Two volumes, folio, (1) Holy Bible, printed by Robert Barker, 1632; (2) Book of Common Prayer, by same printer, 1636. Both bound in crimson velvet, with silver gilt corner pieces chased with flowers and foliage. In the middle of each front cover is an oval boss, much worn, bearing the College arms and similarly on the back the arms of King. On the clasps are the King crest, and their prolongations on the cover bear this inscription divided between them, *Humillime devovit Deo et sacro sanctae huic Mensae Huius Ecclesiae Canonicus* 1638, *Henricus King archidiaconus Colcestriae.* On the fly leaf of each volume is stuck a piece of paper with the following legend: *Relictum Eccles. Chri. Oxon. Titio ex flamma ereptus* 1647 *: opera et subserviente cura Rich^di Gardner Eccles. Chri. Oxon. Canonici at* πλεονεξια *Temporum e propria possessione deturbati. Meum esse est Fore.* This

Photograph] [*G. Chaundy*

EARLIEST SEAL OF THE PRIORY

refers to the hiding of these volumes during the Commonwealth period by Dr. Gardiner and their return at the Restoration. There are no marks.

(21) Vergers' staves, a pair, of thin cane plated with silver. At the top is a tiny dove (or less possibly a Cornish chough in allusion to Wolsey's arms, as has been suggested). Midway is an inch-wide flat and moulded band. On one is engraved in the upper part what appears to be C ' II R, and in the lower half *In convertendo Captivitatem Sion* 1660. (See illus. opp. p. 184, in foreground.) Length, 2 ft. 9 in.

(22) Altar Cross, silver gilt, ornamented with amethysts, pearls, and other stones. It stands on a base which is a fair copy of the seventeenth-century candlesticks. Inscription : *Ad majorem Dei gloriam et in memoriam Helenae Beatricis Paget Amicorum nonnulli. A.S. MCMI.*

The earliest seal of St. Frideswide's Priory (opp. p. 108) dates from the twelfth century. It shows the saint seated with a flower in her right hand and a book in her left. Round the edge is the legend, *Sigillum Ecclesie Sancte Frideswide Oxenefordie.* Mr. J. P. Harrison suggested that, St. Frideswide having been according to tradition a teacher, the book with which she is usually represented may have found its way into the University arms. A fifteenth-century wall painting in Shorthampton Chapel near Charlbury shows the saint teaching a boy out of a book. According to Mr. de Gray Birch the sixteenth-century seal for Oxford as a Cathedral has on the obverse " Our Lord in full length with nimbus and orb in a canopied niche of Renaissance

style and with five cherubim on either side ; on the reverse, Henry VIII in royal robes with orb, crown, and sceptre in a niche of later style. The field is diapered lozengy with fleurs-de-lis and roses in the spaces." The seal in use by the Dean and Chapter for corporate purposes to-day only dates from about the middle of the last century. It bears the legend *Sigillum Ecclesiae Christi* to distinguish it from the *Aedis Christi* of the College seal.

THE ORGAN

The earliest record of the organ is to be found in the 1545 inventory of the Priory, where there is an entry, " Item a paire of organce with a torned chane to the same." The fact that the instrument is referred to in the plural may or may not mean that there was more than one, for it was quite a common thing for large churches to have a larger and fixed organ, together with one or more portable organs of small size as well. On the other hand the " paire of organce " may merely signify an organ with two sets of pipes making up one instrument on the analogy of our modern " pair of steps." In the " Records of the City of Oxford " another reference is quoted for the year following, " Item to Rafe White, joyner, working for the quere and for ye organs . . ." but this seems as much as we can find. Early in the seventeenth century Archbishop Laud was evidently trying here, as elsewhere, to improve the standard of the services, for a Chapter order went forth enjoining " the singing with the organ the Venite Exultemus, the Te Deum, the

Benedictus, or some such like hymn every Sunday and Holyday morning throughout the year." The singers also were to be kept up to the mark by being assembled about once a month, " to see who have been careful and who negligent and so to encourage and correct them as there shall be cause." As a matter of fact even about 1564 the Chapter had also decreed that " every student, Chaplayne, and singing man of this church that is absent from the chore upon Sundaies or holy days shall lose and forfeit 12d. for ever such absence . . .' During the Commonwealth things were naturally different, the previous work was undone, and it was ordered that " the orgaines in the Quire of this church be taken downe." Apparently, however, the instrument was not damaged or destroyed in the same way that such things were so often treated elsewhere, for, with the turn of the tide at the Restoration, the old organ, according to the Rev. H. L. Thompson, was replaced, and Ant. à Wood notes so early as a Sunday in November, 1660, " the canons and students of Ch. Ch. . . . began to weare surplices, and the organ played. Great resort by the rout ; and Dr. Fell then, and afterwards when he was deane, kept the dore." It is nevertheless to be presumed that this constant taking down and putting up of the organ had not done it any good, for, in 1680, the famous Father Schmidt, or Smith, was commissioned to build a new instrument, and place it upon Dean Duppa's screen at the west end of the quire. Here, then, begins what may really be called the authentic history of the organ, for, thanks to the painstaking notes of one Mr. Leffler at the beginning of the

nineteenth century, the specification of Smith's organ has been preserved in Mr. C. W. Pearce's interesting little book. From that work it is taken as follows:

Two setts of keys, from G G (short octaves) to C.

GREAT (9 STOPS)

Open diapason	50 pipes
Stopped diapason	,,
Principal..	,,
Twelfth	,,
Fifteenth	,,
Tierce	,,
Sesquialtera, iii. Ranks ..	150 pipes
Trumpet..	50 ,,
Cornet [from C], iv. Ranks ..	96 ,,

CHOIR (4 STOPS)

Stopped diapason	50 pipes
Principal..	,,
Flute	,,
Fifteenth	,,

Note that this organ had no swell and no "Echo," neither is there any mention of pedals.

From the date of this organ and for the next thirty years or so Christ Church was notable for its taste and interest in music. This was no doubt due in part to the new organ with its greater range and capabilities, but to a greater extent to the influence of the versatile Dean Aldrich, who was himself no mean composer. The instrument being thus brought up to a high standard, attention was then paid to

Photograph] [*G. Chaundy*

THE BISHOP KING WINDOW

the human providers of the music, and in 1766 the organist was given a house on the south side of the college hall. In 1806 the organ loft was fitted up " so as that the singing boys and singing men may be removed there for the future," and then, again, came the turn of the organ. In or about the year 1827 Mr. Bishop took it in hand, executed various repairs, and added a small Swell (from C to fiddle G) and common pedals without separate pipes, so that Sir F. H. Sutton in his book on organs said: " It is now a very fine instrument and quite sufficient to accompany the Choral Service, indeed far too powerful for the present wretched choir of Christ Church, which is a disgrace to the authorities." This verdict is endorsed by the writer to the " Ecclesiologist " in 1847, and by Henry Robinson in his reminiscences of the " House " in 1832–42, when he, too, says that the singing was very poor. Possibly a reason may be found in the casual way in which choristers were chosen for, if his tale of Dean Cyril Jackson, which follows, be true, applicants for vacancies were apparently not required to have any special qualifications! Of the great dean it is reported that one day a small boy came before him as a candidate, of whom he asked, " Well, boy, what do you know of music? " To this the boy replied, " Please, sir, I has no more ear nor a stone, and no more voice nor an ass." " Never mind," said the dean, " go your ways, boy; you will make a very good chorister! " Later still is a story on similar lines quoted by the Rev. H. L. Thompson about Dean Liddell. To him came Dr. Corfe, the organist, one day, complaining that the alto singing

of one of the men was terrible and that if only he sang " bass " it would not be so bad. The Dean said he would see to it. The man was called up, told that there were complaints about his alto and that he must therefore sing bass. The reply from the singer was that he was unable to do so. " Well," said the dean, " I am no musician, but sing ' bass ' you must ; good morning," and from that day forth the unfortunate man had to carry out the order as best he could !

In 1856 came Mr. Billings's removal of the quire screen and the organ now retired to the floor of the south transept with the singers sitting in front of it under the tower. Then came the final move to its present place at the west end of the nave, although still upon Dean Duppa's screen and housed in Father Smith's original case. But the latter gentleman would not recognize anything else, for what was a " very fine instrument " in 1847 was a mere " case of whistles " indeed compared with the modern affair. After Mr. Bishop came Messrs. Gray & Davison in 1870 with a rebuilding, and then fourteen years later Mr. Henry Willis, at a cost of £1,500, built the organ which, subject to certain alterations and additions in 1910, came down to 1922. In this last year the whole instrument was taken down by Messrs. Harrison & Harrison, of Durham and London, the pipes re-voiced, a few new stops added, and so much alteration and renewal carried out that, as Mr. Harrison said, it is to all intents and purposes a new organ. It is through the kindness of this firm that the following specification of the renewed instrument is subjoined.

Out of the many hundreds of pipes Mr. Harrison was inclined to think that only about a dozen could with any probability be attributed to that of 1680, and even these, having been re-voiced, would to-day be practically modern work.

Specification

This specification of the work of renovation, reconstruction, and enlargement undertaken in 1922 was drawn up by Henry G. Ley, Esq., M.A., Mus.Doc., Oxon., organist of the Cathedral, in consultation with Messrs. Harrison & Harrison. There are four Manuals, CC to G, 56 notes, and two and a half octaves of radiating and concave pedals, CCC to F, 30 notes ; 48 speaking stops and 16 couplers, etc., making a total of 64 draw-stops.

PEDAL ORGAN (10 Stops, 4 *Couplers*)

1. Contra violone, wood, 32 ft.
2. Open wood, wood, 16 ft.
3. Violone, metal, 16 ft.
4. Sub bass, wood, 16 ft.
5. Dulciana (from No. 11), metal, 16 ft.
6. Octave wood (18 from No. 2), wood, 8 ft.
7. Flute, wood, 8 ft.
8. Double Ophicleide (18 from No. 9), metal, 32 ft.
9. Ophicleide, metal, 16 ft.
10. Posaune (18 from No. 9), metal, 8 ft.

I. *Choir to Pedal.*
II. *Great to Pedal.*
III. *Swell to Pedal.*
IV. *Solo to Pedal.*

CHOIR ORGAN (10 Stops, 2 *Couplers*)
(In a swell-box)

11. Contra dulciana, metal, 16 ft.
12. Claribel flute, wood, 8 ft.
13. Viole d'orchestre, metal, 8 ft.
14. Salicional, metal, 8 ft.
15. Vox angelica (ten. C), metal, 8 ft.
16. Gemshorn, metal, 4 ft.
17. Viola, metal, 4 ft.
18. Flauto traverso, metal, 4 ft.
19. Harmonic piccolo, metal, 2 ft.
20. Corno di bassetto, metal, 8 ft.

V. *Swell to Choir.*
VI. *Solo to Choir.*

GREAT ORGAN (13 Stops, 3 *Couplers*)

21. Double open diapason (12 from No. 3), metal, 16 ft.
22. Open diapason I, metal, 8 ft.
23. Open diapason II, metal, 8 ft.
24. Open diapason III, metal, 8 ft.
25. Claribel flute, wood, 8 ft.
26. Octave, metal, 4 ft.
27. Harmonic flute, metal, 4 ft.
28. Octave quint, metal, $2\frac{2}{3}$ ft.
29. Super octave, metal, 2 ft.
30. Mixture, 17, 19, 22, metal.
31. Contra tromba, metal, 16 ft.
32. Tromba, metal, 8 ft.
33. Octave tromba, metal, 4 ft.

VII. *Choir to Great.*
VIII. *Swell to Great.*
IX. *Solo to Great.*

SWELL ORGAN

(11 Stops, *Tremulant, and 2 Couplers*)

34. Lieblich bourdon, wood and metal, 16 ft.
35. Open diapason, metal, 8 ft.
36. Lieblich gedeckt, metal and wood, 8 ft.
37. Dulciana (derived bass), metal, 8 ft.
38. Principal, metal, 4 ft.
39. Fifteenth, metal, 2 ft.
40. Mixture, 17, 19, 22, metal.
41. Oboe, metal, 8 ft.

X. *Tremulant.*

42. Contra oboe, metal, 16 ft.
43. Trumpet, metal, 8 ft.
44. Clarion, metal, 4 ft.

XI. *Octave.*

XII. *Solo to Swell.*

SOLO ORGAN (4 Stops, *Tremulant and 2 Couplers*)

(In a swell-box)

45. Harmonic flute, metal, 8 ft.
46. Concert flute, metal, 4 ft.
47. Cor Anglais, metal.

XIII. *Tremulant.*

48. Tuba (harmonic), metal, 8 ft.

XIV. *Octave.*

XV. *Sub octave.*

COMBINATION COUPLER

XVI. *Great and Pedal Combinations Coupled.*

Accessories

Five combination pedals to the Pedal organ.
Four combination pistons to the Choir organ.
Five combination pistons to the Great organ.
Five combination pistons to the Swell organ.
Three combination pistons to the Solo organ.
Reversible piston to No. 9.
Reversible pedal to *Great to Pedal.*
Reversible piston to *Great to Pedal.*
Reversible piston to *Solo to Pedal.*
Reversible piston to *Swell to Great.*
Reversible piston to *Solo to Great.*
Reversible foot piston to Swell *Tremulant.*
Three balanced crescendo pedals to Choir, Swell, and Solo organs.

Wind Pressures

Pedal flue-work, 2 in. to 4 in.; reeds, 7 in.
Choir, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Great flue-work, 4 in. and 5 in.; reeds, 7 in.
Swell flue-work and oboe, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.; reeds, 7 in.
Solo flue-work and orchestral reed, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.; Tuba, 16 in.
Action, 7 in. and 16 in.

The draw-stop jambs are at an angle of 45 degrees to the key-boards. The stop-handles have solid ivory heads, the speaking stops being lettered in black, and the couplers, etc. (indicated above by italics), in red. The latter are grouped with the speaking stops of the departments they augment. The combination pistons have solid ivory heads.

The builders' latest tubular pneumatic system is

applied to all the action, except the manual to pedal couplers, which is mechanical.

Nos. 5, 6, 8, 10, 31, and 44 are "prepared for" only.

The blowing is by electric motor and fans.

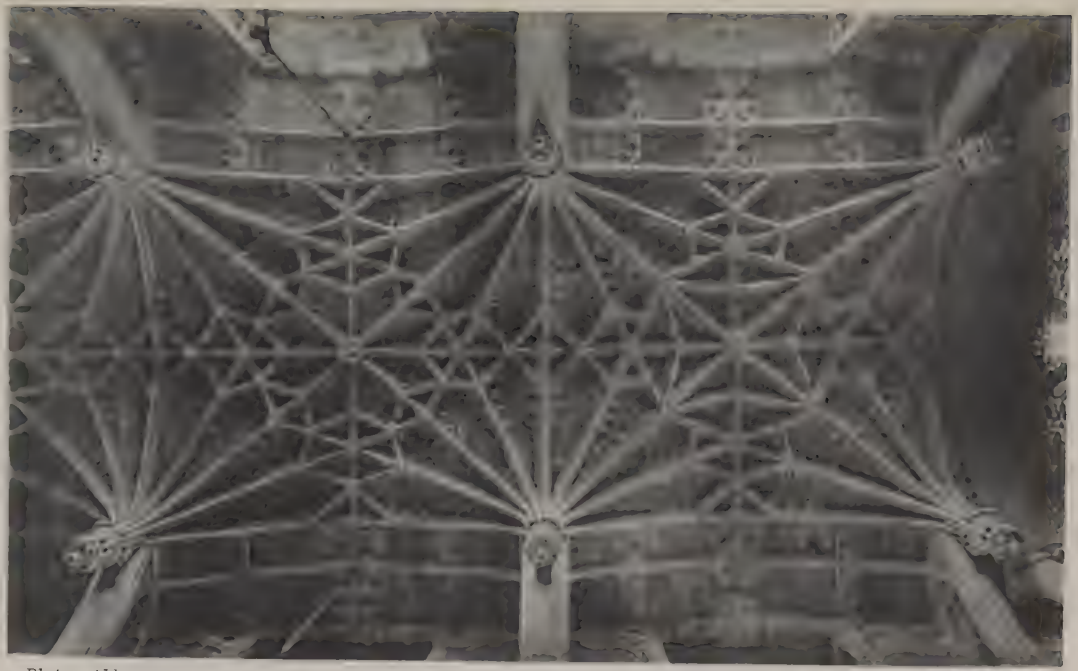
It now remains to give a list of the organists so far as is known, taken almost entirely from the latest edition of Mr. West's book:

1526.	John Taverner.
1530.	John Benbow.
	? John Blithman, c.1561–4.
1564.	Bartholomew Lant.
	Matthew White, Mus.Doc., Oxon., supposed to have been organist early in seventeenth century.
1605.	Leonard Major.
1608.	William Stonard, Mus.Bac., Oxon.
	? George Jeffryes, "organist to K. Chas. I at Oxon.," 1643.
? 1650.	Edward Lowe.
1682.	William Husbands.
1690.	Charles Husbands.
1691(? 2)	Richard Goodson, sen., Mus.Bac., Oxon., University Prof. of Music.
1718.	Richard Goodson, jun., Mus.Bac., Oxon., University Prof. of Music.
1741.	Richard Church.
1776.	Thomas Norris, Mus.Bac., Oxon., a good singer.
1790.	William Crotch, Mus.Doc., Oxon., the first Principal of the Royal Academy of Music.
1807.	William Cross.
1825.	William Marshall, Mus.Doc., Oxon.

1825. [Sir Fredk. Gore-Ouseley served gratuitously for several months while an undergraduate.]
1846. Charles William Corfe, Mus.Doc., Oxon.
1882. Charles Harford Lloyd, Mus.Doc., Oxon., F.R.C.O.
1892. Basil Harwood, Mus.Doc., Oxon.
1909. Henry G. Ley, M.A., Mus.Doc., Oxon.

John Taverner, known for his vocal music, was one of those men, introduced by Wolsey from the eastern counties, who held strong Lutheran opinions. In his case, however, he was, later on, excused his heretical doctrines " because he was but a musician, and so he escaped ! " MS. Wood, C.7, p. 29, mentions a decree of the Chapter in 1561 that " Mr. Jo. Blithman should for his service in the quier there have yearly ten pound and his commons in the hall." Seeing that, at one time, at any rate, this was the salary suggested for the organist, it looks as though Blithman may have held the post, but it is difficult to reconcile him with Mr. West's definite dates for John Benbow. Both Ant. à Wood and Sir J. Hawkins seem to think that Jeffryes was organist for a time.

Only so recently as the year 1919 the Cathedral became possessed of an interesting relic of Dr. William Crotch in the shape of a little organ, like a harmonium, built by himself and presented to the Dean and Chapter by Miss Susannah Frere. It measures about 3 ft. in length, 18 in. in width, and 3 ft. 2 in. in height, and appears to have two stops, labelled respectively Octave Flute and Flute.

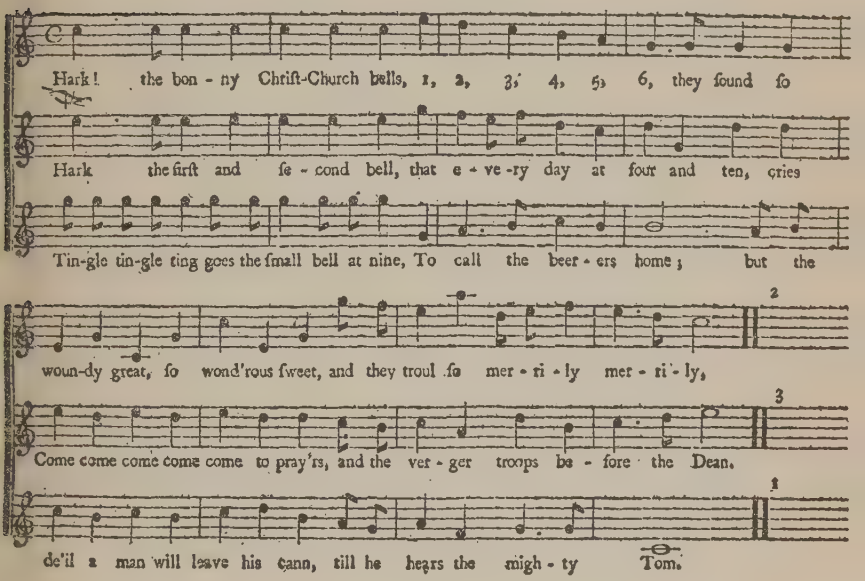


Photograph] [W. Frith

THE QUIRE VAULT

CHRIST-CHURCH BELLS.

A Favourite CATCH for Three Voices.


Hark! the bon - ny Chriſt-Church bells, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, they ſound ſo
Hark the firſt and ſe - cond bell, that e - ve - ry day at four and ten, cries
Tin-gle tin-gle ting goes the ſmall bell at nine, To call the beer - ers home; but the
2
woun-dy great, ſo wond'rous ſweet, and they troul ſo mer - ri - ly mer - ri - ly,
3
Come come come come come to pray'rs, and the ver - ger troops be - fore the Dean.
1
de'il a man will leave his cann, till he hears the migh - ty Tom.

Hark! the bonny Christ Church bells,
One, two, three, four, five, six;
They sound so woundy great,
So wond'rous sweet
And they troul so merrily merrily.

Hark! the first and second bell,
That ev'ry day, at four and ten,
Cries come, come, come, come,
to pray'rs,
And the verger troops before the dean.

Tingle, tingle, ting, goes the small bell at nine,
To call the beerers home;
But the de'il a man will leave his cann,
Till he hears the mighty Tom.

We know from the archives that the bells of St. Frideswide's played an important part in the "time keeping" of the University. In 1408 it was ordered that all who wished to "determine" (i.e. to enter for the necessary disputations, or, in modern language, to sit for the examination for the B.A. degree) were to go into the schools *ad pulsationem campanae in ecclesiâ Beatae Mariae*, and were to leave *quum pulsabitur immediate post prandium apud St. Frideswide*. A previous order had laid it down that all disputations must be finished when compline rang at the Priory. Whatever these bells may have been like none remain to-day, and the foundation of the present peal, referred to in Dean Aldrich's well-known catch above quoted, was laid when some of the bells from Oseney Abbey, which were accounted the sweetest ring in all England, were brought to Christ Church from that monastery at its dissolution. Among them was Big Tom, which is said to have borne the inscription, *In Thome Laude resono Bim Bom sine fraude*, the latter part of which seems to have been added more to fill up and rhyme than to read sense. The moving of these bells from Oseney into the Cathedral tower was a big business. It took six days to get the bells down, and Big Tom alone cost twenty shillings for transport to Oxford, besides "payt. to one Haryson" for lending men to help down the great bell, and to the carpenter and his men for work in the steeple "about the great bell and his frame," as also "Item for ale to theym laborers at ye wyndyng up of ye great bell into Friswide's steple." Whether the steeple was used by the Priory as a bell tower or not does not

seem known. Mr. Aymer Vallance, in his "Old Colleges at Oxford," thinks that there was probably a detached campanile, which was taken down by Wolsey. In any case what Wolsey demolished was certainly not the present Cathedral spire, as some have suggested on the strength of the quotation from Gutch, "Item to James Fleming for making scaffolds for ye taking down of the old stepull." At the same time Wolsey began to erect a new bell tower, now forming the lower half of the present belfry, which, however, in Bereblock's drawing, seems to be shown completed. In 1680 Big Tom was taken down from the steeple, and the ring then made up to ten bells. Meanwhile some of the bells had been recast, and the majority have since been again similarly treated. In 1897, on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, one seventeenth-century bell was recast and two new ones added to bring the peal up to the present number of twelve.

Few bells, perhaps, are better known, or have been more written about, than Big Tom, the pride of Christ Church, and indeed of Oxford. Since leaving Oseney the bell has been through the furnace more than once. According to Mr. J. J. Raven, in his "Bells of England," p. 256, Tom was recast in 1612, which called forth from Corbet, then canon and afterwards bishop, some amusing lines, of which the following are the best:

Be dumb, ye infant chimes, thump not the mettle
That n'er outrung the Tinker and his Kettle;
Cease all your petty Larums, for to-day
Is young Tom's Resurrection from the Clay;
And know when Tom shall ring his loudest knells
The Bigg'st of you will seem but dinner Bells:

Old Tom's grown young again, the fiery Cave
Is now his Cradle that was erst his Grave ;
He grew up quickly from his mother Earth
For all you see is not an hour's birth.
Look on him well, my life I do engage
You never saw prettier Baby for his Age.

* * * *

Brave constant Spirit, none could make thee turn
Tho' hanged, drownd, quartered, till they did thee burn ;
Yet not for this, nor ten times more, be sorry,
Since thou wast martyred for our Church's Glory ;
But for thy meritorious suffering,
Thou shortly shalt toward Heaven in a String,
And, tho' we grieved to see thee thump'd and banged,
We'el all be glad, great Tom, to see thee hanged !

Corbet also refers, somewhat ambiguously, to the founder, in fact he seems to imply that there were two. One had the name of Bronte, and the other occurs in the line " and Tom did Sanders vex, his cyclops maker," while two lines further on we get, " But two as mighty men scarce conquered mee." On the day of the casting it so fell out that a peal was, at the time, being rung at St. Mary's, and, curiously enough, the tenor was cracked. Much play was made with this misfortune, which was, of course, ascribed to Tom's appearance ! Again, in 1654, this bell was in the furnace under the charge of Michael Derby, an itinerant founder, who, from his work at Merton College and Winslow, Bucks, gained the reputation of being too sharp a man of business and a poor workman. Possibly it was due to him that only some twenty-six years later it was found necessary yet again to recast the " constant " (*sic*) Tom. However, it is fair to say that one of Mr. Ellis's " Extracts from the Oxford Journal "

suggests that extra weight was required if the bell was to do its duty properly under the statute, it being found that, owing to the low situation of Christ Church, no sound but of a deep note would carry sufficiently far. In any case, whatever the reason, it had to be recast, and Bishop Fell entrusted the work to Keene, the well-known local founder of Woodstock. But somehow the fates were against him. Three times did Keene try his hand, and three times did he fail. On the first two occasions the fault was lack of sufficient metal, and at the third attempt the mould burst and Keene was "halfe besides himselfe," as Baskerville tells us. Evidently there was something beyond the local man's capacity, and so the job had to be placed elsewhere, and the order was given to Christopher Hodson, a founder from St. Mary Cray. It is known that the bishop gave Keene the use of a workshop in the college precincts, for it came to be known at the time as Bell Yard, and afterward "School Quadrangle." Mr. Raven thinks that Hodson may have received the same favour as Keene because he sends in no account for carriage. This time the work was well done, and in 1680 Tom re-appeared in the form in which he is to be seen to-day.

To him Christ Church also owes one of its best known features, namely, the handsome addition to its main gateway known as Tom Tower (opp. p. 64). The gateway itself was built by Wolsey and was intended to have an oriel window in front, but when it was decided to house the bell therein Fell sent for Sir Christopher Wren to make a suitable addition for the purpose. This he did in 1682, and, on

May 24, 1684, the anniversary of the Restoration, Big Tom boomed out for the first time. In those days, according to Brown Willis, the bell was rung by sixteen men, and portions of the wheel remain ; but to-day the bell is fixed, and is struck by hammers. The chief of Tom's duties is to give the signal for the closing of all the College gates at 9.5 p.m., every night, by sounding one hundred and one strokes. Previous to this there used formerly to be a kind of warning given by means of a small bell, which is still in existence, and is referred to in the verse at the head of this section. Brown Willis, too, says, " Here is also a Shrill Litany Bell which rings out at nine every Night, preparative to the tolling of the aforesaid great Bell called Tom. . . .' The curious number of strokes denotes the hundred original students attached to the foundation by Henry VIII, and the one extra student joined in 1663 under the Thurston bequest. The hours (Greenwich time) are struck on Tom, and the bell is also tolled for an hour upon the death of the reigning sovereign, or that of the dean. For the small sum of twopence a visitor may ascend the tower and inspect the mighty Tom at close quarters, aye, and ten visitors, if so disposed, may simultaneously stand upright together underneath and within his ample margin. On the way up, notice cannot fail to be taken of the really remarkable spiral staircase, co-eval with the tower, to which, as a piece of admirable work in wood, the average guide book seldom draws attention.

In the following description, the writer is indebted, for the diameters and approximate weights

only of the twelve bells, to a list in the belfry compiled by Messrs. Mears & Stainbank, the well-known London founders.

LITANY. Diam. 20 in., has about four simple rib mouldings round the top, otherwise no marks of any kind. Clapper is wanting.

TREBLE. Diam. 26 in., weight 4 cwt. 3 qrs. 1 lb. Inscription: "*In honorem Dei Sexagesimum annum regnante Victoria D.D. Collegium Campanistarum Huiusce Dioceseos.* Mears & Stainbank, Founders, London."

II. Diam. 27 in., weight, 5 cwt. 2 qrs. 1 lb. Inscription, etc., as on treble.

III. Diam. 28 in., approximate weight, $5\frac{3}{4}$ cwt. Inscription: "ABRA RUDHALL OF GLOVCE BELL FOUNDER. 1698." No marks.

IV. Diam. 29 in., approximate weight, 6 cwt. Inscription: "PROSPER THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. 1698." Mark: "A (a bell) R," with ornamental band below, for Abraham Rudhall.

V. Diam. 31 in., approximate weight, $6\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. Mark: "A (a bell) R. 1747." No inscription.

VI. Diam. 32 in., approximate weight, 7 cwt. Inscription: "PROSPERITY TO ALL OVR BENEFACTORS. A (a bell) R." Space left for date but none inserted. Portions of a crested band left here and there.

VII. Diam. 35 in., approximate weight, 8 cwt. Inscription: "THE GRACE OF OUR LORD. 1640." No marks. Messrs. Mears &

Stainbank make a little mistake and date this bell 1646, but on inspection there is no doubt that the second six is nothing but a nought.

VIII. Diam. 37 in., weight, 9 cwt. 2 qrs. 4 lb. Dated 1897. Inscription : "*Inscripta olim* W × Y. 1611. *Recusa est* A.D. MDCCCXCVII. *Det Sonitum plenum Deus et modulamen amoenum.* Mears & Stainbank, Founders, London." The W Y is probably for William Yare, who was a founder working at Reading in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

IX. Diam. 41 in., approximate weight, 12 cwt. Black letter inscription with crowned and ornamented capitals, "*In Multis Annis Reconet Campana Johannis.*" Marks : a kind of heraldic cross crosslet with bifurcated ends to the main arms between a heater shaped shield on either side, each bearing a chevron between three slipped trefoils. Dated by Mr. H. B. Walters as c.1410, and attributed by him to John Bird, a London founder, who, from 1385 to 1420, was working with one William Dawe. An original Oseney bell. (For the " cross " mark, see Stahlschmidt's " Church Bells of Kent," Fig. 10.)

X. Diam. 46 in., approximate weight, 17 cwt. Black letter inscription : "*S[ancte] Maria Sucurre Piissima Nobis.*" Type of lettering, marks, etc., precisely the same as on Bell IX. An original Oseney bell.

Photograph] [*W. Francis*

THE QUIRE VAULT: WEST END

XI. Diam. 50 in., approximate weight, 21 cwt. Inscription: "PROSPERITY TO THIS COLLEGE. A (a bell) R. 1740" (Abraham Rudhall). There is a band of foliated ornament.

TENOR. Diam. 56 in., approximate weight, 30 cwt. (some one has scribbled on the wall of the ringing chamber the weight as 31 cwt. 1 qr. 23 lb.). Above is a band of foliated ornament, below which is the inscription in lettering with what may be called nodules on the strokes of the letters typical of the period: "SACRA : FIAT : HAEC : CAMPANA : BEATA : TRINITA TE A^{D} 1589," together with the following marks: the initials W. I. and M. H., each pair in a square shield, and a crowned Tudor rose supported by a griffin (?) on either side. Another Oseney bell, which goes by the name of "Little Tom." Its note is said to be C sharp.

The ironwork on several of the headstocks has stamped upon it the initials A. W., together with a rude anchor and cable entwined. This no doubt shows what was the work of restoration done in 1871 by Mr. A. White, the campanologist of Besselsleigh.

BIG TOM. Diam. 7 ft. 1 in., height, from crown to brim, 5¾ ft., weight varies a good deal (!), Mr. H. B. Walters says 6 tons, Browne Willis and Caröe c. 7½ tons, Add MS. 6768

9 tons, and "Oxford Journal" (edit. Ellis) not quite 10 tons. The note is said to be B flat, but the bell is cracked. Inscription: "MAGNVS × THOMAS × CLVSIVS × OXONIENSIS × RENATVS × APRILIS × VIII × ANNO × MDCLXXX × REGNANTE × CAROLO × II × DECANO × IOANNE × OXON × EPISCOPO × SVBDECANO × GVL × JANE × SS × TH × P × THESAVRARIO × HEN × SMITH × SS × TH × P × CVRA × ET × ARTE × CHRIST × HODSON ×." The word "Clusius," the door closer, makes allusion to the closing of college gates at the nightly tolling. There appear to be no marks of any kind.

In the belfry are to be found sundry records of various changes rung at different times, of which two are worth recording as containing something of more than technical interest. First, in 1903, a peal of Stedman Cinques, 5,004 changes, was rung in three hours, thirty-two minutes, by the Oxford Society of Change Ringers, and said to be the first of Stedman Cinques to have been conducted by a clergyman, the leader on this occasion being the Rev. F. E. Robinson. Secondly, on January 18, 1898, a peal of Kent Treble Bob Maximus, 5,040 changes, was rung in three hours, fifty-eight minutes, muffled in memory of the Rev. C. L. Dodgson ("Lewis Carroll"), Student of Christ Church, who had died four days previously. It was rather a curious thing that, during the ringing of this peal, the Very Rev. H. G. Liddell, sometime Dean of Christ Church,

passed to his rest at Ascot, Berks. Some forty odd years ago the Christ Church ringers had amongst their number one of the oldest ringers in England, Jonathan Pavier by name. He was born at South Hincksey in 1779, and reached the ripe age of ninety-eight years.

Thanks to a very kind loan from the owner, Mr. William Francis, assistant librarian to the College, and head verger of the Cathedral, the writer has been able to have in his hands a very interesting MS., bound in old vellum, with the first page headed "Christ Church Ringers 1781." This was evidently their subscription book, wherein subscribers to the ringers' fund entered their names and the amounts they gave. That this was not the first book of its kind seems probable from the fact that the lists of earlier names, dated before 1781, are all in one handwriting, and give the impression of having been copied in from somewhere else. After that date it is clear that each subscriber himself wrote in his name, the amount of his gift, and the date when given, so that the little volume has some value for its autographs alone. From it we learn that truly the ringers have been no respecters of persons! Everybody, right and left, had to undergo the ordeal, including even visitors to the College; for on the pages devoted to bishops occur not only the local diocesans in succession, but others, such as Dr. Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury, Van Mildert when Bishop of Llandaff, and the Archbishop of Cashel. The last signature is that of Dr. Paget, in 1901. The deans, starting with Dr. Gaisford, include also those of Lichfield, Worcester, and Stanley,

and end with Dr. Thomas B. Strong, in 1901, now Bishop of Ripon. Canons occur in great numbers and end with Dr. R. W. Ottley, in 1903. Up to the year 1901 the canons had usually given one guinea, but against this date is put a note, "£1 5s. instead of £1 1s. There are now two extra Bells—the Ringers receive 2s. each." Archdeacons and organists, professors and Principals of Halls, Noblemen Grand Compounders, and holders of university degrees, one and all, as many as could be approached, are quietly relieved of a guinea or so! The Chancellors of the University, beginning in 1792 with the Duke of Portland, provide such famous names as the Duke of Wellington and Lord Salisbury, and, in virtue of their august position, are obliged to part with ten guineas apiece. Their deputies, the Vice-Chancellors, were fortunate to escape with a fifth of that sum. And then—what a grinding of the mills!—behold, even the proctors are each mulcted in half a guinea. Lucky indeed for them that the ringers were not junior members of the University, else it may be guessed that they would not have been let off so lightly! Royalty, in the persons of H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Denmark in 1868, Prince Hassan of Egypt the next year, and others, down to the late King Edward VII, in 1897, when Prince of Wales, is made to learn that, in the belfry at any rate, its value is but half that of a Chancellor! The Members of Parliament, Sir J. R. Mowbray and Mr. J. G. Talbot, suffered many times, due, of course, to their long period of representation of the University. Finally, that cause of more joyous ringing than any other event, the wedding, is not,

of course, allowed to pass unnoticed. In September, 1880, the ringers made capital out of the marriage of Miss Alice Liddell, that fortunate young lady for whose delight was written the inimitable "Alice in Wonderland"; but it remained for the late Drs. William Ince, in 1879, and S. R. Driver, in 1892, to be the victims of the most dastardly trick of all. At their respective weddings the usual guinea was not unnaturally paid, but what must have been their disgust when, coming back from their honeymoons, to hear once more the well-known peal, and find again the ringers' book awaiting an entry for a further guinea "on return home with bride"!

One word upon the building whence issued the harmonious sounds in return for all this money. As already mentioned, the bells were formerly hung in the Cathedral tower where, with the exception of Big Tom, they remained until about 1872. At this time it was found that the tower was cracking under the strain, and that the bells could no longer be rung therein. It was therefore decided to build up a belfry tower above the hall staircase upon Wolsey's base. Possibly on account of want of money, a plain square wooden box was temporarily put up to house the bells. No doubt this was not a beautiful object, and it quickly became the butt for all sorts of quips and criticisms, chief among which may be reckoned those of that prince of humour, Lewis Carroll. He published a most amusing little skit upon this box, which, by the kindness of Mr. C. J. Parker, of Broad Street, the writer has been able to examine. He begins by solemnly dealing with the

etymological meaning of the word " belfry " which, he suggests, is derived from the French " bel "= "beautiful," "fitting," or " meet," and the German " frei "=" free," " secure," " safe." Thus he shows that the word is strictly equal to " meatsafe," to which the new belfry " bears a resemblance so perfect as almost to amount to a coincidence." He points out that its chief architectural merit is its simplicity, while, as regards the rest, it may be said that it has no other architectural merits ! Further on he suggests that the original idea was that it should be a copy of a Greek lexicon to incorporate the names of the dean and architect (Liddell and Scott), but that the plan miscarried, and the box was put up during their temporary absence by a wandering architect ! In 1879, however, the present tower was built from the design of Messrs. Bodley & Garner, but it may come as a surprise to some to hear that the much derided " meatsafe " containing the bells still remains within !

A somewhat interesting point should also be noted in respect of the keeping of time, for, contrary to the universal system throughout the country, Christ Church does not go by Greenwich time, but by that of the actual meridian on which it stands. Accordingly all services and lectures appear to start five minutes late, and the College clock in the belfry is by that number of minutes behind the Tom Tower clock, which keeps the official time. This fact is made clear by the following copy of the instructions to the steeple keeper as to ringing the bells. For the Holy Communion he is to go by Tom, but for Mattins and Evensong he is to ring as follows :

Begin at a.m.	p.m.		
9	and 4	on No. 7 for 5 mins.	When the Cathedral clock strikes.
9.30	,, 4.30	on No. 6 for 5 mins.	
9.45	,, 4.45	on Nos. 8, 9 for 10 mins.	
10	,, 5	on No. 11 for 5 mins.	When Tom strikes.

It is said that this sounding of the bells at intervals for an hour before the services is a survival from monastic times when these ringings were designed to act as warnings to those canons who might be working or fishing out in the meadows, so that they should not be late in their attendance.

BRASSES

With the exception of about three, there are few brasses of any special interest, for the large majority only date from the seventeenth century. In the north transept aisle note that belonging to Leonard Hutten, if only for the sake of the man commemorated. Immediately adjoining is a diamond-shaped inscription to one Robert Hues, who died in 1632, and was in his time a man of many parts, and something of a traveller. On the north wall of the same transept are some typical late sixteenth and seventeenth-century brasses, where the figure of the person to be recorded is shown kneeling at a prayer desk on a tessellated pavement, with an open book before him, with perhaps a scroll issuing from his mouth, and an inscription underneath. Among

those here may be mentioned specimens to Thomas Morren, M.A., and Henry Dowe, who died in 1576. In the Lady Chapel a well-preserved brass at the south-western corner shows the figure of Edward

EDWARD COURTENAY

Courtenay in a long cloak edged with fur and with a V-shaped opening similarly decorated at the bottom in front, and loose hanging sleeves with furred cuffs. He is armed with a short falchion with curved tip hanging from a belt, his feet rest

Photograph] [*W. Francis*

VIEW FROM LIBRARY

on a dog, his family arms as described in the Latin Chapel glass above, and beneath all is an inscription saying he was the son of Sir Hugh Courtenay, of County Devon. He died, according to Mr. C. H. Blakiston, c.1450. Close by the tomb of Prior Sutton is another specimen in by no means so satisfactory a state to one John ffitzaleyne. His figure stands in a cloak almost exactly the same as that of Edward Courtenay, but he wears no sword. Beneath is the fragment of an inscription, "Hic jacet Johīs ffitzal . . . aº dn̄i MºCC . . . . .' The invaluable Ant à Wood (MS. F.29[A]) supplies the date of death as 1452 and it is probably this man who, in Mr. Anstey's volume, appears in 1449 as one of the witnesses to the will of Thomas Elkyns, and is therein called an alderman. On the pier above Lady Montacute's tomb are two brasses of minor importance and hard to see, commemorating John Bisshop, d. 1588, aged eighteen, and Thomas Thornton, d. 1613, respectively.

JOHN FFITZALEYNE

In the north quire aisle is a fine brass with the figure fortunately preserved, although most of the inscription is missing. This calls to mind James Coorthopp, canon in 1546, and afterwards Dean of Peterborough. He is represented vested in cassock, over which is a long, full-sleeved surplice, and over

that again an almuce or furred cape with the ends hanging down, ornamented with 'cattes tailes" or tassels. Of the inscription, the name and date are gone, but notice a queer little hand, an angel with a scroll and some foliated decoration, which are distinctly interesting. The legend beneath the figure is one of the conventional efforts relating to worms and of the " as-I-am-so-shalt-thou-be " type. Just beyond is that to Thomas Palmer, d. 1558, of square shape, an inscription only which ends *quiescat in pace Ecclesie.*

Passing over to the south quire aisle in the extreme south-east corner is a brass to one Stephen Lence, mainly noticeable for the fact that the first letter of the surname is engraved in mistake as a P instead of L. There is no doubt that it should be L for Lence or Lynch, who died in 1587.

Finally, let into a pillar on the north side of the nave, is a brass to one John Walrond, who died in 1602. Two coats of arms are at the top, viz.: (1) three bulls' heads cabossed on the fesspoint a crescent (Walrond) imp. two demi lions passant guardant (?), and (2) Walrond with label of three points. By the side of the brass there are on the pillar traces of a painted Strapwork design repeating the coat of arms as in (2).

LIBRARY

Passing through the archway in the north-east corner of Tom Quad, commonly known as " Kill Canon " from the draught which here blows through continually, we quickly reach the Library on the

right. It is, of course, a foundation of comparatively recent date, for there seems to be no record of a library attached to the Priory. Doubtless there was something of the kind, but as the Augustinian canons were by no means famed for their learning, it is unlikely that a small priory of this order would have anything of great size. However, whether this was so or not, nothing in the way of MSS. remain beyond the cartulary of St. Frideswide's, kept in the inner room of the Chapter House, and a number of records of what may be termed a "business" character. The oldest documents go back to the beginning of the twelfth century, and are all arranged and preserved in collections of which there is a written index. The cartulary, the original of which is in the Chapter House, has been printed and is of great value from the fact that into it were copied many of the deeds and charters relating to their rights and properties granted or bequeathed to the canons from time to time by kings and other benefactors. To all intents and purposes, therefore, the library of the seventeenth century, with its "gift" book dated 1614, may be regarded as the first, housed as it then was in the sometime monks' refectory. What might have been the case had Wolsey continued in power for another few years is almost too tantalizing to think of, for it is generally said that, with his usual grandiose schemes, he had it in mind to get copies of all the most famous MSS. in the Vatican; but the fates ordained otherwise, and a humbler but more certain beginning was made with a benefaction of £800, early in the seventeenth century, by Otho Nicholson, who repaired the then

library, and whose further benefactions in other ways are set forth upon his tablet in the cloisters. Later deans helped on the collection of books, but the real founders of the present library were Charles Boyle, the fourth Earl of Orrery, of "Epistles of Phalaris" fame, and Archbishop Wake. The former gave as many as 10,000 volumes from his own library, and the latter presented also a fine collection of books, MSS. of his own time mainly of personal correspondence and official records, a cabinet of medals, and the sum of £1,000 for the purpose of building a new library. This last item was the prime agency which resulted in the library being housed as we see it to-day.

This fine building, measuring internally 141 ft. by 30 ft., was begun in 1716 from the design of Dr. George Clarke, but the work dragged on for some long time, and was not finished until 1761, mainly because of the want of money. The result, however, as a writer to the "Builder" quite justly says, is "a really powerful work of its class, simply on account of the boldness of its parts and projections, there is nothing little or trivial about it." The ground floor is divided by the entrance hall into two large rooms, that on the left being the reading room and library for undergraduates, and that on the right a crowded picture gallery, while from the back of the hall ascends a double curving staircase to the main library above. This beautiful room, running the whole length of the building, and fitted throughout with Norwegian oak, was, in 1922, found to be in a dangerous state owing to the presence of dry rot and beetles, and the floors had at once to be

entirely reconstructed with steel girders. A few small rooms open out from it on the south side where the majority of the MSS. are kept, and it is from the window of one of them that the very charming view of the Cathedral across the dean's garden may be obtained (opp. p. 136). In cases down the room various treasures are set out, such as Wolsey's illuminated service book, and an account on a parchment roll of his household expenses, the Latin exercise book of William, Duke of Gloucester, the ten-year-old son of Queen Anne, with corrections by Dr. Burnet, his tutor, the royal letter to Fell for the expulsion of John Locke from his Fellowship, and a French MS., c.1280, of the New Testament. There are also some good collections of coins, including, as the Rev. H. L. Thompson tells us, a complete series of gold Zodiacal rupees of the Mogul Emperor Jehangir. Among printed books may be seen an exceedingly rare "Antiphonale ad usum Ecclesiae Sarum," Gower's "Confessio Amantis," and some scarce Oriental books left in 1648 by a Dr. Morris. As regards the rest, it may be said that it is a good general collection, especially on the theological side, including various sixteenth-century versions of the Bible, both English and foreign. From Dean Aldrich came a goodly number of interesting musical MSS., including the score, written by Dr. Benjamin Rogers in 1685, himself a Christ Church man, of the May Day hymn sung annually from the top of Magdalen Tower.

On the way downstairs there stands in an alcove a statue of John Locke by Roubillac, and in the hall are numerous busts of scholars and others

connected with the College. In the middle sits that famous character, Dean Cyril Jackson, a fine piece of work by Chantrey, moved here from the north transept of the Cathedral, a position which so roused the ire of the writer to the "Ecclesiologist" that he indignantly complained of "the sitting figure with its back to the altar, the academical instead of the priestly garb are indeed symbolical of a place where learning has triumphed over religion and the Bishop is overshadowed by the scholars."

In the picture gallery the first and foremost thing to see is Wolsey's large red cardinal's hat, which has a satisfactory and authentic history. When it is realized that some 400 years ago it sheltered the head of one of the outstanding personalities of his time, whose works and ideas are all around us here to-day, it is seen to be indeed one of those personal links with the past which do so much to make the dry bones of history live. As regards the pictures themselves, the majority were bequeathed in 1765 by General John Guise but, owing to their number and to the fact that the room is in no way adapted for the purpose of a gallery, they are much crowded and many are "skied." It has been unkindly said that among them "the names of great masters are much more common than their works"; and it is to be feared that this is so as will be made clear by a reference to the catalogue of Professor Borenius, but in any case they are worth a little inspection. A very small number are known to have come from the collection of Charles I as they bear the crowned monogram C.R. at the back. There is also a nice and more valuable collection of 1734 drawings,

chiefly of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, about which Mr. C. F. Bell, of the Ashmolean Museum, gives full information in his recent publication. These also were part of the Guise bequest, and are believed to include just one or two which also may possibly have belonged to Charles I, but the marks are uncertain.

Mention must also be made of the Allestree library, which was that left to the Regius Professor of Divinity by Richard Allestree, one of the historic three who kept up the Church of England service at Beam Hall during the Commonwealth period. It is housed in a small room along the top of the south alley of the cloisters, and only the professor has the right of entry. In addition to this proviso, there is also the drawback that no money was left for its upkeep, and it is therefore to be feared that Allestree's well-meant bequest serves little useful purpose nowadays for lack of modern books and readers. It contains a Bible (1547) printed in parallel columns with the Vulgate text and Zurich version together with the commentary of Vetabulus, and bound in velvet with the Tudor rose and crown and the initials and arms of Elizabeth.

Two points may be mentioned here. Firstly, that the records of the three Archdeaconries in this Diocese have been deposited in Bodley, and secondly, that the Registers of the Cathedral date as follows: Births from 1633, Marriages 1642–49, and from 1661, Burials from 1640. It is generally said that there were no actual burials in the Cathedral during the Civil War, and that the monuments are merely memorial tablets, but Edward Walsingham, in his

" Britannicae Virtutis Imago," 1644, p. 20, gives a circumstantial account of the funeral procession of General Sir John Smith and of his burial in the Cathedral.

THE FAIR

Mention of the fair of St. Frideswide has already been made, and how it was a privilege granted by Henry I at the time when the Augustinian canons were installed. Just a few words are needed here to give such information as can be found with regard to its subsequent history, because, of course, it was a valuable privilege and, in consequence, a fruitful source of quarrelling.

In the original charter of foundation it was arranged that the fair should be held from July 10th, the vigil of the feast of the translation of St. Benedict, to the 16th of that month, but in 1228, by charter from the king, the date was altered to October 18th, the vigil of the feast of St. Frideswide, to the 24th. Ant à Wood also says that in course of time the number of days were extended so that the fair lasted just into November. It was not, however, until the following century that we hear much about it. Two years after his accession, Edward III confirmed to the monastery its privileges, including, of course, the fair, but it must be noticed that, at the same time, the king impresses upon the prior the necessity of observing carefully the " assize " of bread and beer so that the scholars of the University should not suffer. This " assize " was the right of testing and enforcing by fines the correct weights and measures of these important

Photograph] [*G. Chaundy*

THE CLOISTERS: SOUTH ALLEY

foods, and seems to have been the cause of some, at least, of the trouble later on. A Patent Roll for 1344 shows the trouble beginning, for this is a complaint by the prior that whereas he has had this fair in Oxford and the suburbs granted and confirmed to him, nevertheless when he appointed bailiffs and officials to collect the various tolls and perquisites, the mayor and townsfolk assaulted his officers and themselves took away the dues and profits to the extent of £1,000. Apparently he got no redress, because he has to repeat his complaint two years later. In 1382 matters came to a head, followed by another long story of complaint from the prior, this time written in French. It appears that the fair started in the ordinary way with the country people coming in and pitching their tents *et pavillons* as usual. Whereupon *le chaunceler de Oxenford et les escolers ont fait une solempne crie que chescun homme voideroit maintenantz hors* (that everybody should at once get outside and away). They then proceeded to break down the tents and put a complete stop to the fair; wherefore the prior asks for redress. This time the Court moves and moves quickly, possibly because the University is now involved in the outrage. A Close Roll for the same year orders that, under pain of forfeiture, the prior is to be allowed to hold his fair peaceably "as of old time used to be done" and that the king will inquire into the affair himself later. The Chancellor and Proctors are, in due course, summoned to Westminster to make answer to the charge, and a commission, composed of the Archbishop of Canterbury, five bishops, and one layman, is appointed to

go into the matter, deal with the respective rights, privileges, and jurisdictions of the two parties, and settle the many disputes between them so as to save all the expense entailed " by such a hateful quarrel." From which we gather that the troubles were really of old standing. Now appears the justification for that special recommendation by Edward III, for the commissioners find that the main cause of trouble is that unlucky assize of bread and beer. It seems that both sides claimed this privilege and hence all the ill feeling. The verdict was more or less a compromise favouring the University. It lays down that that body shall have the " assize " in the town outside the domain of the monastery, while the Priory may have it inside its own premises and is to be paid an annual rent of twenty shillings as compensation for any loss of privilege caused by the award. Possibly also to this occasion may be referred a bond purporting to have been given in 1201 by the University to the Priory. Expert modern opinion has shown that the early date is a forgery, and that the deed must be assigned to a much later period. Certainly the details would fit in quite well with this " assize " quarrel, for by it the University enters into a bond for £200 to be forfeited if the Chancellor " or any masters of the University or their servants shall molest and burden with any arrest or citation anybody within the boundaries of the monastery." The commissioners, perhaps, did not realize at the time how far-reaching was their decision, but herein we seem to see the beginning of the waning of the fair's prosperity. In the first place, according to Ant. à Wood, for the avoidance

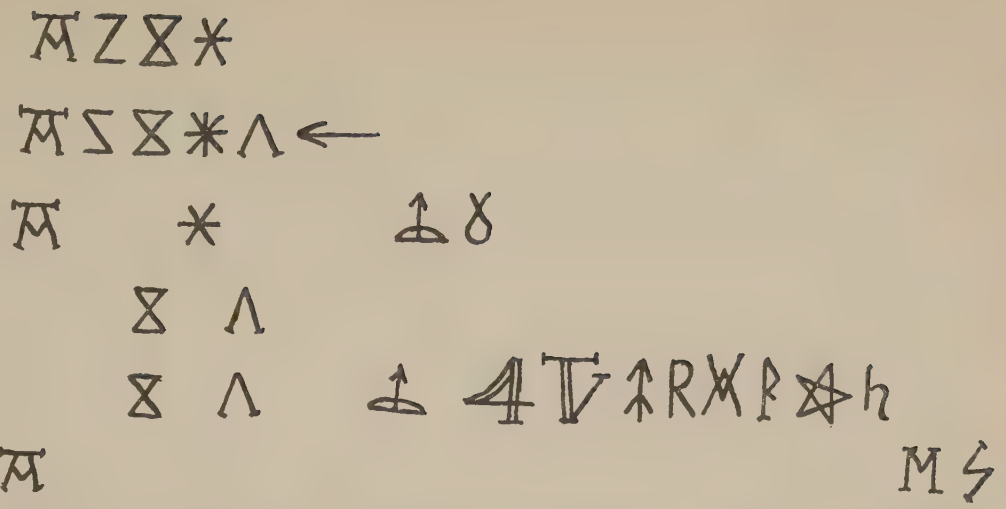
of troubles and the "rudeness of the schollers," and also in order to get as much of the assize rights as possible, the canons took to holding the fair sometimes within the castle grounds, which belonged to them, and sometimes within the precincts of the monastery. In either case this must have meant cramped space, fewer booths and stalls, and so smaller tolls and profits. Secondly, the compensation to be paid by the University sounds very small for so important an "assize," especially if the prior's figure of £1,000 was really correct, and this would mean a serious loss to the canons which would cause them to take less interest in a privilege now becoming increasingly unprofitable. At the time of the Dissolution the fair passed to Wolsey's college, thence to Henry VIII's foundation, and in 1542 was leased by the dean and canons to Robert Smyth, "one of the Sextens of the same College." According to Mr. Salter's edition of the city archives, the lease included the ground where the fair was "accustomably" held, a house called the Civile Schoole (roughly somewhere just north of the modern Bear Lane), and all the houses, shops, stalls, rents, and profits except the Court of Pepowder (*pied poudré*, referring to the dusty feet of the suitors at the court) which, with its profits, were reserved to the College. Smyth undertook to pay an annual rent of £4, and to provide an "honest" place where the steward of the College might "sytte drye" while holding the said court. When the time came for Henry's second foundation, the right to the fair was surrendered with the other properties of the College and, early in the reign of Edward VI, was sold to the burgesses

for £300. The transaction, however, turned out to be bad business, for the fair rapidly declined, and within about a hundred years had practically come to an end. One last feeble relic of this once important event struggled on for a good many years in the form of an annual cake stall in St. Aldate's, but even this has now gone, although only within living memory.

MASON MARKS AND GRAFFITI

From the point of view of this little archaeological bypath the Cathedral is rather disappointing. The writer has failed to find any graffiti at all of any importance. On Lady Montacute's tomb occur the initials and date, W. D. 1627, and on the east side of the clerestory in the south transept, W. B. 1631 is to be found. On the north-west pillar of the north quire aisle is a portcullis, in the south quire aisle on the central engaged shaft of the south wall there is "xxxs. \..j," and in St. Lucy's Chapel on a pillar is a faint pattern of circles touching each other, as it were a network, which is evidently the survival of some painted Jacobean strapwork ornament and not really a scratching at all.

As far as mason marks are concerned the field is a little more fruitful, and a fair number, easy to see, may be collected, but not unfortunately in one or two places where they are much wanted. For example, the piers of the debated chancel seem to provide no marks, due probably to much modern repair of the stonework. Upon the rest of the Norman work there is an interesting selection of marks, as set forth in the accompanying tables.



1 Nave arcade, adjoining N.W. tower pier.

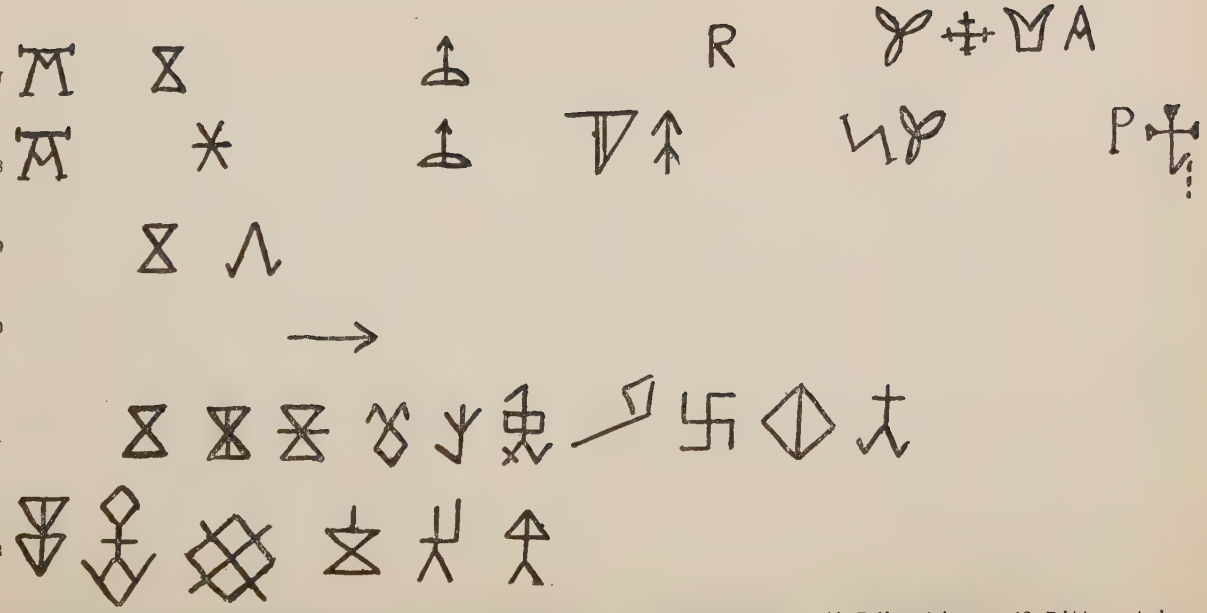
2 North transept, pillar on W. side.

3 North transept, N.W. pillar of quire aisle.

4. North quire aisle. S.E. corner.

5. Sanctuary, E. wall.

6. Sanctuary, S.E. corner.



7. East End, S.E. turret staircase. 8. South quire aisle, engaged columns. 9. South transept, clerestory. 10. Chapter House, west wall. 11. Belfry staircase (temp. Wolsey), wall. 12. Ditto, stair risers.

Wolsey's belfry staircase affords an excellent series very typical of that date. Among them will be noticed that favourite and well-nigh universal sign of the swastika or fylfot cross, together with one or two marks like those prevailing among merchants about half a century earlier.

It may not be out of place here to call attention to a curious coincidence on the east wall of the south quire aisle. There, immediately adjoining the brass plate to the memory of his daughter, appears the more or less bald head with curling hair low down at the back of his neck and the prominent nose of Dean Liddell! The appearance itself is merely due to some alkali or other constituent of the wall coming to the surface, and such "faces" are not uncommon, although they are usually grotesque. Here, however, the resemblance is sufficiently real to be worthy of a passing notice.

OFFICIALS AND SERVICES

Among the officials connected with the Cathedral the dean naturally stands first. His position is similar to that of any other dean except that not only is he head of a Cathedral Chapter, but he exercises the power of the Ordinary within his church, and simultaneously, by virtue of his office, he is the ruler of a famous collegiate foundation. The grant of the right to take the place of the Ordinary was made when the See was transferred to Oxford and combined with the College, for the Cathedral was then deliberately omitted from the bishop's jurisdiction, probably because it was to serve also as a chapel to the College, with which he would have

no official connexion. So then it comes about that the sovereign is the visitor and when the sovereign makes a grant to a canonry, the usual custom of the bishop instituting the grantee and then issuing his mandate for installation does not obtain at Oxford, for the Letters Patent come from the Crown direct to the dean. There is also the tradition, started at the beginning of the seventeenth century by a petition of thirty-three senior students, that none but a Christ Church man should be elected to this office, a tradition to which, with but very few exceptions, there has been a faithful adherence. (See further B. Mus., Add. MS. 33,061, f. 373.)

The Chapter is composed of six canons, not exactly prebendaries in the ordinary way because they have not special sources of income attached to each, to whom are joined certain professorships in the University. In 1636, thanks to Laud's influence, the king also annexed a canonry to the office of Public Orator, but after the first holder, William Strode, the arrangement lapsed. The canons, too, are a little different from the ordinary dignitary of that kind, not only by reason of the University Chairs which they fill, but also because, prior to the Christ Church Act of 1867, they, together with the dean, ruled the Cathedral and also the College. By the Act mentioned they still continue alone to have jurisdiction over the Cathedral in the usual way, but are now assisted in the government of the College by the senior student, or simply students, as the Fellows are here called. Late in Elizabethan days a fruitful source of quarrelling among the canons was finally abolished. In 1595, to be precise, it was "concluded

Photograph] [*W Francis*

THE PULPIT

capitularly . . . by us the deane and canons . . . that whereas there hath been heretofore divers and sundry discontentments . . . concerning . . . the possessing of canons lodgings there" that the choice of taking over any set of lodgings which became vacant by the death or removal of any canon should first be offered to the "most ancient Prebendary of the said house." This opportunity of changing one set of lodgings for a superior set is not now permitted. There are in addition twenty-four honorary canons. These complimentary dignities were first instituted by Bishop Wilberforce, although not without some difficulty. The reason for this was the lack of space in the Cathedral for their stalls during term time, and it was therefore ultimately decided that, while such honorary canons should be made, it was to be understood that only in vacation may they claim and use their stalls.

Originally there were eight minor or petty canons who, by the Act of 1867, were reduced to six, power being given to reduce their number to four if necessary. This power has since been exercised and there are now but four minor canons who, in these days, are instead called chaplains. Among earlier occupiers of this office one, Maurice Wheeler, has a right to some local fame for, in 1673, he compiled the first of the famous Oxford Almanacs.

Comparatively little is known about the early history of the Archdeaconry. According to Mr. Marshall it first appears about the year 1078 when the official occupying the post was famed for his rhetoric. Quite the best known of the early archdeacons was Walter Map (1196–c.1215), of some

note as a writer and who, to-day, is often termed the jovial archdeacon, on the strength of the famous drinking song which many now think he never wrote! He was also fond of satirizing the monastic orders, especially the Cistercians, and among his poems there is one in the form of a long reply to W. Bothewald, the Sub-prior of St. Frideswide's, upon this particular order, *grex albus ordo nefanda*, as he termed it, on account of the injustice of its dealings with others. To the office of archdeacon appertains the privilege of presentation to the benefice of Iffley by virtue of the rectory having been given to the archdeacon, as such, some time during the thirteenth century. This privilege he still enjoys. Like other important and well-sustained officers of the Church in earlier days, the archdeacon was frequently a non-resident and often a foreigner; indeed, early in the fourteenth century he was both, in the person of a Roman cardinal, but as time went on this disgraceful state of things improved until, in the reign of Elizabeth, there can be little doubt that at last he thoroughly earned his stipend! This was due to the fact that the queen deliberately kept the See vacant for something like forty years, which must have laid a great deal of extra work on the shoulders of the archdeacon, for, in addition to his usual work, he had to be invested by the Archbishop of Canterbury with the right to exercise many of the spiritual duties of a diocesan during the vacancy of the See.

Among other officials, now for the most part extinct since the great change of 1858, must be noted the Preachers, who seem to have been employed on

much the same errands as the better known Six Preachers of Canterbury. An Ant. à Wood MS. (C. 8, f. 73) gives a little information, throwing light upon their duties which in one respect were of a rather invidious character. Mention is first made of them in 1569 when their number is two, which, however, was shortly afterwards increased to four, and this appears to have been their full number; the last reference to them is about 1603, when the staff had been reduced to three. These "praedicatores" or "concionatores," as they are variously called (the latter name is that usually employed at Canterbury), were required to go out preaching in the country round; each preacher being attached to four vicarages, in each of which he was expected to give three sermons a year. So far nothing very serious was involved, but now comes the unpleasant part for any gentleman to have to play, for it seems that they were to be nothing more nor less than a superior kind of spy. Their last duty was to certify each quarter that they had delivered the necessary number of sermons and hand in a report "containing the name of the vicar or curate in each parish where he hath preached the same quarter, his hability in learning, his life and conversacion, and what monuments of superstition or other things remaine in those churches to be redressed." It is not edifying to picture the preacher probably accepting the hospitality of some unsuspecting parson and simultaneously leading the conversation into channels calculated to test the victim's "hability" or making surreptitious inquiries among his parishioners as to their vicar's mode of life. No doubt,

as Dr. Watson says, there were few country clergy equal to the task of preaching, to say nothing of the fact that many were suspected of inclining to Romanism, which would account for the order for inquiries to be made. It does not seem known exactly when these officials ceased to function, but they have not existed in Oxford for many a long day.

Ant. à Wood also mentions another official in the person of the Catechist who, presumably, was responsible in the sixteenth century for giving, in the Latin Chapel, the required weekly *catechetica lectio* by way of teaching the younger members of the College, the servants, and the almsmen. These last were the twenty-four " almesmen " or bedesmen, old soldiers or sailors, who were lodged in Henry VIII's hospital just across the road, where now is part of Pembroke College. The office of catechist persisted in one form or another down to modern days, for in 1858 it is found joined to that of the senior censor, and was, no doubt, by that time purely nominal. It seems to have survived for a few more years, because the University calendar of 1870 gives the Rev. C. W. Sandford as " censor and catechist," but this seems to be the last mention.

The last official of earlier days who had some importance was the Auditor. In 1562 it was laid down that when he was present " in the church " (meaning presumably when at home in the precincts) he should be allowed one pennyworth of meat and one pennyworth of bread and beer for breakfast. He was to have his " commons " (i.e. the ordinary daily allowance of food given out to every member of the

College in contra-distinction to "battels," which are extras ordered by the undergraduate himself), "being in the church" with the canons in the hall and to have a servant attached to him; but "if he be absent on the house business" he was not to be allowed a servant. To enable him to do his work he had two horses, for which he was given four load of hay per annum. When they were in College he could have one penny per day in horse bread, and as long as he was in the church's business he was also given grass for them "in grass time." For himself he was allowed two load of wood and two quarters of "coles" yearly, and when riding on church business he had a daily allowance of eighteen pence for himself, eightpence for his servant, and one shilling for each horse.

Turning now to the services, we find that there is little or no record of what was done in pre-Reformation days. In later times odd scraps of information can be gleaned here and there which give a little idea as to the state of affairs. A decree by the Chapter, *De Exercitiis in Templo* about the middle of the sixteenth century, orders that in the quire there should always be sermons before the celebration of Holy Communion, both to be specially attended by dean, canons, and divines in their turn. In the north or Latin Chapel theological discussions by the students were to be held, and lectures on divinity were delivered there until comparatively recent times.

Early in the seventeenth century, morning and evening prayers were at 10 a.m. and 3 p.m. respectively on weekdays—easy hours, which, under

the sterner rule of the Puritans, became changed to between 5 and 6 o'clock in the morning and 5 o'clock in the evening—together with a sermon in the Cathedral for the University at 4 p.m. every Thursday. It has already been mentioned that during the later period of the Commonwealth the Church of England service was carried on by the three friends, Fell, Dolben, and Allestree, until the Restoration. In that year surplices were again worn, according to Ant. à Wood, a monthly celebration was instituted, and the Latin prayers were also continued at 8 a.m. and 9.15 p.m.—in fact these last were said daily right down to so late a date as 1861, when they were abolished. It may be of interest, as showing the strong and long-established Puritan feeling of the College, to note that at these Latin prayers a Zurich version of the Psalter was used. This use of the Latin language was under Letters Patent of Elizabeth in 1560 as being a learned language suitable for a congregation of scholars. Towards the end of the century a report was made at the request of Henry Compton, Bishop of London, upon the clergy in general as to which of the rubrics they disregarded and any other irregularities of which they might be guilty. This report is preserved among the Rawlinson MSS. in Bodley (C.983, f. 46) and says, among other things : " In Christ Church in Oxford where 'tis every Sunday " (i.e. the Holy Communion), " all so far from receiving it yt, of al ye vast body of students 'tis a rarity to see above ten Communicants and for ye most part there are not above half yt number and sometimes none at all." As, however, the report says that there was

no celebration once a week as a rule in other cathedrals, collegiate churches, and colleges, Christ Church in that respect might have been worse.

Late in the eighteenth century not only were mattins (at 6 a.m.) and evensong compulsory for the undergraduates, but on Wednesdays and Fridays they had to attend the Litany at 9 a.m. as well. Their successors in modern days may well think themselves fortunate to have nothing earlier than 8 a.m. with which to contend! There must, however, be a little distinction drawn between College prayers and canon's prayers, although in respect of earlier days it seems hardly possible to say whether there was any difference or not. The probability is, in Dr. Watson's opinion, that there was, but at any rate to-day it is so, for, as just pointed out, College prayers are at 8 a.m. whereas canon's prayers are at 10 a.m. As time wore on matters ecclesiastical became more and more stagnant, and the writer to the "Ecclesiologist" sets down in no uncertain fashion his opinion as to the services. In his time there was "never a sermon preached nor a Communion offered for the benefit of the people of the diocese." Such services as were provided were slovenly and irreverent and the loss of all idea of worship could not be better evidenced than in the seating arrangements of the quire and crossing under the tower where everything was made subservient to the hearing of sermons. To quote the same writer again, "The episcopal throne is meanness itself . . . and on the prayer books nearest to it and nowhere else are inscribed the words: 'Christ Church Chapel,' as if to warn the bishop off the forbidden ground.

Nearly the whole area of the choir between the stalls is filled with benches looking west and in which kneeling is all but impossible." These last were occupied by undergraduates. Reference will be made a little later to these sermons and to the controversy which they aroused. It remained for Dean Liddell (1855–92) to put an end to this regrettable state of slackness and neglect, and to him is therefore due the credit for a Cathedral to-day restored both spiritually and structurally. He at once made it his business to invest the building with less of the air of a college chapel and more of the character of the head church of a Diocese, by rendering it more accessible to the public, making the services more reverent in tone, and providing, in 1865, a weekly celebration. This satisfactory change even applies to the status of the bishop, who had never hitherto been a welcome visitor, perhaps because it was not forgotten that the Cathedral was beyond his jurisdiction. Possibly for the same reason the bishop's Consistory Court was, and is, not held in the Cathedral according to the normal arrangement, but in Adam de Brome's Chapel in the University church. It is seldom held now even there except in the case of contested applications for faculties. Formerly the court had complete testamentary jurisdiction over the Diocese in the granting of probates or letters of administration, " Peculiars " belonging to the archbishop being, of course, the only exception. The court of the archdeacon had a similar jurisdiction when not inhibited, but such inhibition only occurred during the bishop's triennial visitation, which lasted about nine months. It is rather a curious fact that

Photograph] *[Photochrom Co.*

THE PRIOR'S GARDEN WITH PLANE TREE

the Consistory Court of the Diocese of Ely also used formerly to be held in the University church at Cambridge.

One very interesting survival, dating, it is generally said, from the Restoration, but in Dr. Watson's opinion more probably from the sixteenth century, is the manner of administering the Holy Communion. This is done by the celebrant bringing the Sacrament to the communicants kneeling in their places instead of their going up to the altar rails to receive; the usual arrangement is only resorted to at the monthly sung Eucharist. A parallel case is to be found at St. Mary's and until recent times at Pembroke College, the former also providing "houseling cloths" such as are also used to-day at Wimborne Minster. Another curious little detail is the custom of chanting the versicle, "O Lord, save the king," and the response, "And mercifully hear us when we call upon Thee," immediately after the anthem and before the prayer for the king.

Referring again to the sermons mentioned a little way back, it is to be noted that it has been the custom of the University since 1607 that all the colleges should take it in turn to provide preachers for the weekly official sermon at the University church on Sundays during term time. The Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, however, speedily fell foul of the authorities by claiming that, as a Cathedral body, they were entitled to have their turn for preaching in Christ Church because, "according to the manner of all other Cathedrals," that was the natural place for such things and where the public would be expected to attend. It may be remarked

en passant that, contrary to their usual custom, the College authorities in this case were not above accentuating the Cathedral side of their chapel, and possibly this change of front may have been partly responsible for the strong feeling which was aroused. It seems to have been admitted that unofficial sermons might be preached at Christ Church, but, when it came to the official deliverance on Sundays and Holy days, then the difficulty arose and the Statute in Convocation of 1607 was called upon to show that such sermons must be at St. Mary's Church. In the end, however, the Dean and Chapter won their point, and whenever it came round to their turn to preach the official sermon before the University it was delivered in the Cathedral, and it was not until 1869 that this privilege was, under strong protest, taken away from them.

DIMENSIONS

There seem to be no official measurements and each item has therefore been given as favoured by the majority of authorities consulted.

Total length, east to west	175 ft.
(originally 203 ft.)	
Length of transepts, north to south ..	120 ft.
Length of quire	80 ft.
Width of nave and aisles	54 ft.
Width of transepts	38 ft.
Height of nave	41½ ft.
(Walcott says 45½ ft.)	
Height of quire and transepts	37½ ft.
Height of spire	144 ft.
Latin Chapel	47 ft. × 20 ft. × 25 ft.
Chapter House	54 ft. × 23¾ ft.

ARMS OF THE SEE

The arms of the Cathedral Church of Christ are said to be the same as those of the Priory it replaced and are blazoned thus :

" Sable, a fess argent, in chief three ladies arrayed and veiled of the second crowned with open crowns proper couped below the breasts ; in base an ox of the second passant over a ford barry wavy argent and azure."

ARMS OF THE SEE

Dr. Woodward thought that the queens should rather be kings, but his argument is not very convincing. Ant. à Wood, picturesque if nothing else, would see in these three heads those of Didan, Safrida, and Frideswide. Whether there be any kind of connexion between the three crowned figures and the three crowns in the University's arms is a matter for conjecture.

CHAPTER VI

THE MONASTERY

ALTHOUGH the valuable cartularies remain, there is not a great deal of record left from which it is possible to construct any idea of the ordinary life led by the canons. To begin with, however, just a word or two may be said about the Order which staffed this monastery. The Augustinian Canons, or Canons Regular of St. Augustine (of Hippo), were known as the Black Canons as distinct from the Black Monks or Benedictines, and from the Black or Dominican Friars, and were distributed pretty generally throughout England. They were not under such strict vows as the full monk although they lived under rule, and, so far from being rigidly confined within their monastery walls, they were allowed outside in order to fulfil one of the express purposes of their existence, namely, the serving of parish churches in their gift. For this reason, perhaps, their rule was that no person under the age of twenty could be admitted as a canon. They made no particular pretensions to great learning, and indeed, if we may judge from the Rev. H. E. Salter's interesting edition of the records of the general and provincial Chapter meetings of the Order held every three years, it would seem that, on the whole, they were inclined to be somewhat

Photograph. C. Craundy

THE OLD REFECTORY

undisciplined. These meetings received the reports of those officials who had been appointed to different parts of the country as visitors of the houses of the order in their districts, and, on the strength of these reports, promulgated general statutes which were binding upon all the canons. It was usually arranged that the Chapters were held at some more or less central spot and Oxford was chosen for that reason more than once; but it is to be noticed that no prior of St. Frideswide ever seems to have been honoured with the post of one of the two presidents of a Chapter. From about the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, however, we find them made visitors occasionally for Oxfordshire and the neighbouring counties of Bedford and Bucks. In 1443 there was a somewhat special triennial meeting held at Oseney, lasting for three instead of the usual two days. As it covered a week-end a solemn procession was arranged to go on the Sunday to St. Frideswide's, in which the two hundred or so members all took part. On arrival, the Abbot of St. Osyth, one of the presidents, preached a sermon in the churchyard before them all, including also the Chancellor of the University, after which they

CAPITAL: NORTH NAVE AISLE

entered the church and celebrated the Mass of the Holy Spirit, and finally returned to Oseney. The statutes issued at the meetings covered a good deal of ground, from matters of general interest to those dealing with the minutiae of dress and daily routine. Thus, for example, the canons were allowed to wear white capes during the summer presumably as attracting the sun heat less than black, but this was only permitted within the precincts of the monastery ; on going outside the regulation dress had to be worn. During the *hora meridiana et hora quietis* there was to be no talking without special permission ; the former or mid-day hour being set apart for *corporali quieti*, i.e. bodily rest, the latter for *sanctae contemplationis dulcedini*, i.e. for the sweet delight of holy contemplation. The washing of feet was also enjoined for every Sunday in Lent, except Palm Sunday, not so much from the point of view of hygiene particularly, but as an act of humility.

To improve their learning it is interesting to find Pope Benedict XII (1334–42) ordering that every house with twenty members was to maintain one of its canons as a student at one or other of the universities. Nearly a hundred years later a list shows that only about forty-four houses had to support a student, and of these St. Frideswide's was one. Mr. Salter points out that there is no reason to believe that St. Frideswide's ever had more than about eighteen members, but that if any house could afford it the visitors could, in their discretion, order such a house to " exhibit," i.e. maintain, one or two students whatever might be its actual num-

bers. In the case of St. Frideswide's the facilities without much expense were, of course, obvious. At the same time the Pope instituted a *prior studencium* both at Oxford and at Cambridge to supervise the canons studying in either place, and fines were imposed on any house which did not provide the student required. There seems to have been a good many defaulters at one time or another, and it is rather scandalous to find that St. Frideswide's, of all places, was one of the worst offenders.

TILE IN LATIN CHAPEL
(ARMS OF SEE OF EXETER)

Perhaps the most interesting detail in connexion with these canons is their attempt to found a college of St. Mary at Oxford on the same lines as the Gloucester College (now Worcester College) of the Benedictines. It seems that the idea was first proposed in 1443, supported by an urgent exhortation from the king to the like effect a year or so later, and that land for the purpose was given by one Thomas Holden, who died about that time, and Elizabeth his wife. Holden's gift is described as situate " below the north gate " in a place formerly called " Pers Besell," probably after the family whose name remains in the parish of Bessellsleigh, near Cumnor, and all that remains to-day is the gateway in New Inn Hall Street. In 1448 the

Abbot of Oseney was asked to draw up suitable statutes for the new College, and the following year we gather that the chapel had been built and that there was sufficient accommodation, probably in the adjoining cottages, to house a few students. At the beginning it was agreed that all fines levied on heads of houses for absence from Chapter meetings, the non-exhibition of scholars, and similar offences, should be earmarked for the College, but the fines were unreasonably large and it seems extremely unlikely, in Mr. Salter's opinion, that they were ever paid, at any rate in full even if at all. In 1506 a rate was levied by the Order on all its houses for the building fund, but progress seems to have been very slow—indeed the College never seems really to have become an accomplished fact.

So much then for the Order in general. As regards the house of St. Frideswide's in particular there is not a great deal of information to be obtained, and the monastic remains are not very extensive. These last have been referred to briefly in the first chapter, but the subject was not there completed.

According to Buckler the forecourt of the Priory was roughly on the site of the present Tom Quad, but smaller in size, with an entrance on the west and buildings north and south. Those on the north, according to the same authority, were the guest house, large portions of which to his certain knowledge disappeared between 1820–70. The last remains may be the odds and ends in the garden of the house attached to the third prebendal stall, referred to by Mr. Thompson as perhaps having been

Photograph] [*W. Francis*

TOMB ? PRIOR SUTTON

brewhouses. The site of the kitchen is unknown, but as we still possess the old refectory we may guess that the kitchen was pretty much where Wolsey's famous building now stands. The gabled houses in the cloisters have already been referred to as the prior's house and canons' dormitory, and are now attached to the second prebendal stall. Inside there is one interesting room, panelled in oak, with a fine carved overmantel bearing the arms of Christ Church in the middle, separated by uprights in the form of caryatid figures of the usual Jacobean type from a panel on either side bearing a pelican. Along the top runs a frieze of pelicans, from which it is thought that there may be some connexion with the College of Corpus Christi. It is perhaps worth mentioning, and it would be a pleasant thought to see in the employment of this bird a grateful allusion to the builder of the house. For not only did Robert Sherborne, Dean of St. Paul's and afterwards Bishop of Chichester, rebuild the cloisters here within the ten years after 1489, but he gave £40 for the use of the Priory and erected a "sumptuous dwelling-house next to the dormitory" for the prior. Sherborne's arms are: "arg: a pelican in her piety vert," but although the style of the woodwork is, of course, much too late for it to be attributed to him, it is possible that the designer bore the sometime benefactor and his crest in mind and saw in this way a means of perpetuating his memory. Note also that the Jacobean pulpit in the Cathedral has its canopy surmounted by a pelican. Sherborne himself was a New College man and why or how he came to make this handsome benefaction no one seems to know,

but he had a reputation for being generous, and the poverty of the Priory may have called forth his practical sympathy as an old Oxford man. Our knowledge as to this little piece of history is derived from a document in the archives of Chichester Cathedral, which is transcribed in full in the Collections of the Sussex Archaeological Society, Vol. XXIX, p. 25. This house of the prior did not at first reach quite as far as the Chapter House on to which, however, it was made to abut by means of an addition by Dr. Tresham before he was deprived in 1560. The lower room that he added was afterwards given over to the Chapter House and is known to-day as the "inner room"; while the long, low chamber between the vaulting and the roof of the Chapter House, which may at one time have been a dormitory, was attached to the prior's house by way of compensation. The fine old wall running round the garden of this house (see frontispiece) was built in the latter half of the sixteenth century by a "severe sub-dean," Dr. Bernard, who, without any very great exaggeration, might almost have been the planter of the plane tree, exceeding old, which appears in the illustration opposite p. 160.

Both the cloisters (p. 37) and Chapter House (p. 33) have already been fully described in respect of their architecture, and it therefore only remains to point out here the smaller details and items of interest.

Starting in the north alley of the former there are to be seen on the central bosses of the vaulting the arms of Dean Liddell and the seven canons, Clerke, Pusey, Jelf, Ogilvie, Heurtley, Payne-Smith, and

Bright, in office at the time of the Restoration. On either side are the arms of the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York and of the Christ Church men who filled those primacies. Nearer the Chapter House door are Wolsey's arms, together with those of the Sees he had held, viz.: Lincoln, Bath and Wells, Durham, Winchester, and York, and quite at the end of the new work appear bosses carved with the heads of Queen Victoria, Lord Salisbury, as Chancellor of the University at that time, Dr. Stubbs, as Bishop of Oxford, and Dr. Paget, Dean of Christ Church. In the other half of the eastern alley, which is original work, are a few heraldic shields of which it is possible to identify the greyhound coat from the Nowers tomb and the Montacute arms. The remainder are here set forth more or less tentatively as the passing of the years has not left them easily decipherable:

1. A chevron between three bulls' heads erased.
2. Barry of six in chief three (?) besants.
3. A chevron between two wreaths (? annulets) in chief and the (?) Agnus Dei in base.
4. A tau-cross.

The south alley has no coats of arms, but in their stead there is a series of faces on the bosses with an extraordinarily wide and interesting variety of head coverings in fashion at the time. Many hundreds of visitors pass during the year beneath these little curiosities, and but few realize that they are there or stop to examine them.

Adjoining the Chapter House on the north is the Norman slype or covered passage (see also p. 74)

leading through to the Dean and Chapter's burial ground and closed by a wrought iron gate bearing Dean Liddell's arms. Of the few monuments that near the entrance to the Cathedral to Otho Nicholson commemorates a benefactor both to College and city. To the former, in 1613, he presented £800 for the purchase of books and at the same time did some restoration to the old library, while three years

MEDIAEVAL TILES IN SOUTH TRANSEPT GALLERY

earlier he erected and gave to the latter the famous Carfax Conduit for a supply of water from the hill above North Hinksey.

We now come to the Chapter House, the Jacobean door of which is worth looking at as we open it and pass in to gaze upon as beautiful a piece of Early English work as we could wish to see. Right and left high up on the walls are two square stones each with an angel holding a shield. On one are the arms of Richard, Duke of Cornwall, "a lion rampant within a bordure bezanty," and on the other the double-headed eagle of the Holy Roman Empire,

the said Richard having been king of the Romans. On the stone seat to the right lies part of a slab with a charmingly carved border and remains of a Lombardic inscription, " . . . DE . VARVIR . . . . . ISSE . VISCERA . SUNT . HIC." This is attributed to Ela, Countess of Warwick, who was a most generous benefactor to all the local monasteries. She died in 1300 after having lived to a great age, and was buried before the high altar of Oseney Abbey. At the eastern end there are four small heads in the upper part and two, of monks, below in the corners. Let into the wall beneath the window is the foundation stone of his college at Ipswich, intended by Wolsey to act as a feeder to this, his other college at Oxford. The inscription, which is a little confusing, notably from the use of F for E and N for M in many cases, is as follows : ANO × CH . . . TI × MDXX . . . III × ET × RFGNI × HENRICI × OCTAVI × RFGIS × ANGLIAE × XX × NENSIS × VFRO × IVNII × XΛ × POSITVM × P × IOHFN × FPN × LIDF$\overline{\text{N}}$ × ; " In the year of Christ 152[8] and of the reign of Henry VIII King of England the twentieth, of the month June on the fifteenth day (this stone) was placed by John bishop of Lydda " (i.e. John Holte who was a suffragan of London with the title of Lydda). The stone had a narrow escape of being lost, but was rescued by the Rev. Richard Canning, rector of Harkstead and Friston in Suffolk, and in 1789 bequeathed by him to the Dean and Chapter. Finally, the vaulting must not be forgotten, nor a pair of field glasses with which to inspect it. The bosses, rather difficult to make out, have their subjects surrounded with beautiful

foliage. Starting from the east, the first shows our Lord seated with a book in His left hand and His right upraised in blessing; the second is the Madonna and her Child, to whom she is said to be giving an apple. On beyond is a seated female figure having a crown or halo on her head, with a book in her right hand and holding up something in her left—? St. Frideswide. The last boss is the most interesting, for it seems to portray four animals in a circle, of which one may be a bird, with a single head in the middle doing duty for the four. Might this be a reference to the four Evangelists? While looking at the bosses visitors will also have noticed the remains of painting on the vaulting, each compartment thereof having a ground work coloured yellow, and lined in red to imitate small stone work, upon which is a medallion containing a single figure. Most of these medallions are now gone, but in the easternmost bay some still remain and it is possible to descry (1) a man with a tonsure holding a church with a spire in the right hand and two keys in the left hand, probably St. Peter; (2) a female figure with right hand upraised and left hand holding a book; (3) a man with a curly head of hair, holding up a book in his right hand from which he is reading; (4) a bald-headed and bearded man holding what might be a sword in his right hand; (5) an angel with outspread wings. The figures are very stiff, and, from their attitudes and the treatment of hands and feet, might well be co-eval with the building. The medallions at the sides are linked to the heads of the arches by a small foliated pattern in red running along the intersection of the groins.

In the middle of the southern side a few steps lead up to the "inner room," built by Dr. Tresham. The chamber has nice contemporary panelling and contains a number of interesting portraits, including Henry VII (twice), his wife Elizabeth of York, Henry VIII, Mary, Elizabeth, Fuller Bishop of Lincoln, Deans Aldrich (twice) and Samuel Fell, King Bishop of London (1611–21), and famous Dr. Busby, the stern headmaster of Westminster.

The furniture includes a fine Elizabethan table, some Chippendale chairs, and a fine wrought-iron coffer or strong box, with an elaborate locking arrangement in the lid and three keyholes, one of which is cleverly hidden, dating from the last half of the fifteenth century. There is also preserved here a copy of the Sealed Book of Common Prayer, i.e. a certified true copy ordered by the Act of Uniformity of 1662 to be obtained under the Great Seal of England and kept by all Cathedral bodies for ultimate reference or legal purposes. The visitor needs to be reminded that this beautiful Chapter House was not always as well cared for as it is to-day. About 1870 Buckler's description of its then condition makes painful reading. In the first place a wall divided the room into two parts, of which the inner chamber with two of the lights of the windows blocked up had had its floor level raised to admit of heating and cellarage beneath and was itself used for meetings of the Chapter. Access to it was through a doorway just by the north window but now blocked up and untraceable. Of the outer chamber Buckler says, " The degradation of ye fore-part of ye Chapter House is scarcely credible : wine

is bottled and corked in it; barrels and hampers, firewood and kitchen utensils sprawled on the floor are its furniture!" But, thanks be, the times are changed and the Chapter House with them!

Much of the property of the Priory was of very old standing. Peckwater quadrangle perpetuates the name of Ralph, son of Richard Peckwether, who in 1246 gave his house called "Peckewerhyn," or "Vinehall," to the canons. The plan attached to the Rev. H. E. Salter's "Oxford Deeds of Balliol College" gives a good idea of the lie of the land. Outside the walls, and just beyond the east gate opposite Magdalen, the canons had a grange or large barn, with a track from it to the highway and the bridge "Supra Charewell," which track is the modern Rose Lane running along by the side of the Botanic Garden. Near this grange at the south-east corner of the city wall, on what is known as Merton College Mount in the Fellows' Garden there, the canons established a cell called "Our Lady in the Wall." According to Ant. à Wood the cell and grange were used by the monks for the housing of pilgrims who came to be cured at St. Edmund's well at the other end of Magdalen Bridge. A figure of Our Lady was set up in the wall which, apart from its connexion with the cell, was reckoned as a kind of oracle "for the resolution of divers doubts." Between this grange and the monastery proper, that is, the part known to-day as Merton Meadows, between the city

QUIRE: HALF CAPITAL

Photograph] [*W. Francis*

THE QUIRE: CLERESTORY

wall and the Broad Walk, there lay the canons' fish ponds, those indispensable adjuncts to any convent. In those days, according to Ant. à Wood, this part was planted with trees and known as St. Frideswide's Grove, providing a pleasant place for quiet recreation even as Bishop Smalridge's " Dead Man's Walk," along the foot of the wall, makes to-day a warm and sheltered resting place. The grove was afterwards cut down by Wolsey and used by him both to supply material and as a place for squaring all the timber for his new buildings, whence it earned the name of the " Timberyard." Ant. à Wood goes on to say that the fish ponds were visible in his day, and is confirmed by Mr. Francis, who tells the writer that he can well remember three distinct depressions in these meadows. These no doubt were the remains of the selfsame ponds which, after surviving the turmoil and stress of Wolsey and later days, succumbed in the end to the rather banal, even if more imperious, claims of hockey and football !

We will end with a few scattered details which we learn from the cartulary. About the middle of the twelfth century the Priory had a tithe of lambs and cheese at Garsington, and early in the next century one Roger le Spicer acknowledges that he owes one pound of cummin annually to the Priory in return for permission to let the ends of the beams of his house rest upon the wall of the gable of a house belonging to the Priory ! There is, too, at this time much complaint by the canons as to the burden imposed upon their resources by the unreasonable retinues brought by bishops and archdeacons at the time of their visitations. Hawks,

dogs, and such like impedimenta seem hardly to be in place when business is afoot, their presence involves that of attendants, and all this would add greatly to the expense of entertaining the visiting official. The prior was always struggling to avoid this burden and occasionally got exemption, but the dice were apt to be too heavily loaded against him and he seldom escaped altogether. Sometimes we hear of servants of the Priory, as, for example, Ralph, their miller, c.1220, the scene of whose labours was a mill on the Trill stream, now Rose Lane by Bishop King's palace so-called, which crossed St. Aldate's at this point and flowed out into the Thames by Folly Bridge. The Priory doorkeeper is also twice mentioned, once, c.1290, as one Purchase who leases a little land from the canons for five shillings a year, of which four shillings is remitted to him as a return for his services ; and again some forty years later as one William de Draycote. A strange privilege is also revealed when Philip Minkan, c.1265, and John de Elsefield, in 1295, respectively, give up and forgo the right of themselves and their families to a free annual drink at the Priory on St. Frideswide's day. How and when the right arose we do not know, the only sort of parallel in modern days is the reputed right of Brasenose men to come into Lincoln College and claim a drink of ground ivy ale on the occasion of the annual beating of the bounds of St. Michael's parish.

CHAPTER VII

THE PRIORS

THE following list, of which the earlier dates and names are rather uncertain, is compiled from various sources including the "Victoria County History" and the Patent Rolls. Any discrepancy between these two or gap filled by one or other is marked accordingly (V.C.H.) or (P.R.).

GUIMOND . . . . . 1122 to 1130 or '41
ROBERTUS DE CRICKLADE ALS CANUTUS . c.1150 to c.1175
PHILIP c.1175
WILLIAM DE STO ALDATO . . . . . ? c.1204
SIMON . . . . . c.1195 (V.C.H.)
ELIAS (E. SCOTUS). . . . 1228 (deposed 1235)
WILLIAM DE GLOUCESTER . . . 1236 to 1249 (P.R.)
ROBERT DE WESTON 1249
ROBERT DE OLNEY (MUNDAM) . . . . 1260 (P.R.)
JOHN LEWKNOR or DE LEWKENESHOVRE. . . 1278
ROBERT DE EWELME (DE LEWELIN [P.R.]) . . 1284
ALEXANDER DE SUTTON 1294
ROBERT DE DORVESTONE (THORRESTON) . . . 1316
JOHN DE LYTTLEMORE 1337
NICOLAS DE HUNGERFORD
1349, deprived 1362, reinstated 1365
JOHN DE WALYNGFORD 1370
JOHN DE DODEFORD 1374
THOMAS BRADEWELLE 1391
RICHARD DE OXENFORD . . . . . 1405 (P.R.)
EDMUND ANDOVER 1434
ROBERT DOWNHAM . . . . 1439 to 1458 (P.R.)

John Westbury 1458
George Norton 1479
Richard Walker 1484
Thomas Ware 1496
William Chedyll 1501
John Burton . . . . . 1513 surrendered 1524

DEANS

Wolsey's Foundation

John Higden 1524
John Oliver 1532

As Cathedral Church

John London (at Oseney) 1542–3
Richard Coxe (at Oseney and afterwards at Oxford) 1543
Richard Marshall 1553
George Carew 1559
Thomas Sampson 1561
Thomas Goodwin 1565
Thomas Cooper 1567
John Piers 1570
Tobias Matthew 1576
William James 1584
Thomas Ravis 1596
John King 1605
William Goodwin 1611
Richard Corbet 1620
Brian Duppa 1629
Samuel Fell 1638
Edward Reynolds (intruded) 1648
John Owen (intruded) 1651
Edward Reynolds (restored) 1659
George Morley 1660
John Fell 1660
John Massey 1686
Henry Aldrich 1689
Francis Atterbury 1711
George Smalridge 1713
Hugh Boulter 1719

William Bradshaw	1724
John Conybeare	1733
David Gregory	1756
William Markham	1767
Lewis Bagot	1777
Cyril Jackson	1783
Charles Henry Hall	1809
Samuel Smith	1824
Thomas Gaisford	1831
Henry George Liddell	1855
Francis Paget	1892
Thomas Banks Strong	1901
Henry Julian White	1920

BISHOPS

As there is so much uncertainty about the See of Dorchester and its connexion or otherwise with those of Lindsey and Leicester, there seems little profit in listing any names of bishops other than those who were in all probability really appointed to this See. Readers who wish to go more fully into the matter are referred to Stubbs's "Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum" and Parker's "Early History of Oxford," pp. 86–7, 138, 171–3, 217.

See of Dorchester

St. Birinus	634
Aetla	c.680
Leofwin	? 953–65
Eadnoth I	? 965
Escwy	? 979
Alfhelm	1002
Eadnoth II	1006
Aethelric	1016
Eadnoth III (called in the Ang. Sax. Chron. "the good bishop of Oxfordshire")	1034
Ulf	1050

Wulfwy	1053
Remigius	1067

Removal to Lincoln after A.D. 1070.

See of Oxford

Robert King (at Oseney)	1542
Robert King (at Oxford)	1546–57
(See vacant 1557–67.)	
Hugh Curwyn	1567–68
(See vacant 1568–89.)	
John Underhill	1589–92
(See vacant 1592–1604.)	
John Bridges	1604
John Howson	1619
Richard Corbet	1628
John Bancroft	1632
Robert Skinner	1641
William Paul	1663
Walter Blandford	1665
Nathaniel Crewe	1671
Henry Compton	1674
John Fell	1675
Samuel Parker	1686
Timothy Hall	1688
John Hough	1690
William Talbot	1699
John Potter	1715
Thomas Secker	1737
John Hume	1758
Robert Lowth	1766
John Butler	1777
Edward Smallwell	1788
John Randolph	1799
Charles Moss	1807
William Jackson	1812
Edward Legge	1816
Charles Lloyd	1827
Richard Bagot	1829
Samuel Wilberforce	1845

JOHN FIELDER MACKARNESS 1870
WILLIAM STUBBS 1888
FRANCIS PAGET 1901
CHARLES GORE 1911
HUBERT MURRAY BURGE 1919

HISTORICAL NOTES

What does the story of Didan and Frideswide, already related at the beginning of this book, tell us about the ancient Ousenford, the ford over the river, or as we know it so well to-day, Oxford? It is to be feared that it tells us little except that apparently there was some small religious community settled in a tiny village here during the eighth century. This small place gradually grew in importance far more from its geographical position as a valuable ford over a river, which was the border between Wessex and Mercia, than from its religious associations. Such a position must have brought Oxford into special prominence during the succeeding centuries by reason of the Danish invasions and the consequent movement of soldiers to and fro as occasion required. Indeed, it is owing to the marauder's presence in this locality that, in 912, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the Bodleian Library gives the first historical mention of the place by name when relating how King Eadward the Elder took possession of "Lundenbyrg and Oxnaforda," i.e. London and Oxford, with all the lands which owed obedience thereto. The nunnery itself experienced many vicissitudes. As such it did not apparently long survive St. Frideswide's death, for the "shemonasticks," as Ant. à Wood somewhat ungallantly

calls them, were soon replaced by secular canons. These latter, it is thought by Mr. Parker, were in their turn removed, probably in 963 by Aethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, to make way for regulars. However, nothing is certainly known, for a Rochester MS. gives the date as 1049 instead of 963 and similar discrepancies among authorities are frequent. Assuming, however, that Mr. Parker's date is correct it would seem that the regulars gave way to the seculars again about 975 on the accession of Edward the Martyr, and these remained in possession until the final establishment of the monastery proper in the twelfth century. From that time onwards Oxford bulks large in England's history. On the accession of Aethelred the Redeless in 981 the Danes again came on the warpath, and when that ill-advised monarch sent out his ghastly order for their massacre on St. Brice's day in 1002, Oxford seems to have carried it out more thoroughly than most places. The invaders were in fact obliged to flee to Didan's church for refuge, but even the sanctity of the building did not save them, and both they and it were burned together. Two years later a charter by the king recites the events that had taken place. He points out that the Danes had increased " as tares among wheat " and hence his order that they should be slain ; as the fire had involved the destruction of ornaments and records in addition to the fabric of the church the task of restoration was taken in hand by him and this charter confirmed and added to the privileges of the monastery. Mr. Kemble, in his " Codex Diplomaticus," was inclined to doubt the genuineness of this

Photograph] [*W Francis*

THE LATIN CHAPEL: SOUTH SIDE

charter, but both Mr. Parker and Mr. Wigram see good reason to accept it, always remembering, of course, that what exists to-day is but a fourteenth century copy of the original. Oxford's triumph, however, was but short lived, for not only did the Danes seek revenge for their murdered kinsmen, but Sweyn their king had special feelings of hatred because his sister Gunhilda was among the slain. This led, in 1009, to the capture and burning of the town by the Danes, and four years later to the extortion of a heavy fine by Sweyn. In spite of all this, the importance of the place which its position gave seems to have been irresistible, for in 1015 a great meeting of the Witenagemot was held here. Then again was the reputation of the town unfortunately maintained by the peculiarly treacherous murder of the Danes, Sigeferth and Morkere, at the hands of Eadric Streona. Nor indeed was the tale of murder to end there, for, if Henry of Huntingdon's very circumstantial account is to be believed, it was here also that Eadmund the Aetheling or Ironside was assassinated by Streona's son in the following year and the position of Canute as King of England assured.

During all this time it is noticeable that of St. Frideswide's there is no mention. Possibly the changing from seculars to regulars and *vice versa* may account for the fact that the monastery seems to have been of little account. For example, in 977, it is recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that at a Gemot held at Kirtlington one Sideman, Bishop of Crediton, suddenly died. Without a doubt St. Frideswide's was the nearest monastery,

and it is therefore the more noticeable that the dead body was deliberately taken through Oxford to St. Helen's monastery at Abingdon, and there buried. In spite, therefore, of Aethelred's patronage the monastery must have remained insignificant, for in 1005, to take another case, we find that the new Abbey of Eynsham, only some four or five miles away, was possessed of the church of St. Ebbe's, that is, of a church little more than a stone's throw from the gate of St. Frideswide itself. The Abbey of Abingdon also, in 1034, had the newly founded church of St. Martin (i.e. old Carfax church), in the most central part of the town, attached to it by Canute, and both these abbeys had the right to hold courts in Oxford. From such details it may be judged that the local monastic institution did not keep pace with the increasing importance of Oxford as a town. And this is the more curious considering the frequency with which kings and councils came here, and the likelihood of their becoming interested in the monastery of the place.

Before going any further in the history of the town and convent something must be said with regard to the bishops in whose See Oxford was situated. The preaching of Christianity in these parts goes back some seventy years before Didan's supposed time and opens with the mission of Birinus in 634 to the West Saxons. As Mr. Parker says, it is rather strange, but nevertheless certain, that Birinus put his seat at Dorchester some ten miles from Oxford, although it was a place which, in point of fact, was not in Wessex at all but in Mercia. Early histories are unfortunately very contradictory

and obscure, but it would seem that after the death of Birinus the See of Wessex was probably divided into those of Dorchester and Winchester, Oxfordshire being included in the latter. Whether, however, Dorchester really took its place as a See at this time is rather doubtful, although about 680 Mercia, which had now become Christian, was divided by Theodore into dioceses of which one was at Leicester. Aetla, its bishop, is believed to have moved down almost at once to Dorchester, so that now Oxford would have found itself in a Mercian Diocese. For the next two hundred years there is great confusion between the Sees of Dorchester and Leicester, with a further complication during the tenth century of a possible amalgamation with that of Lindsey. In any event, by the time of Bishop Leofwin, c.960, the See of Dorchester seems to have been really established as such and in fact to have then reached, or very shortly after, to very large dimensions. About six years after the Norman Conquest, Mr. Marshall tells us that at the meeting of Windsor it was arranged that the See of Dorchester, then stretching from the Thames to the Humber, should be included in the province of Canterbury instead of in that of York as heretofore; and, shortly after, the great step was taken under Bishop Remigius of transferring the bishop's seat to Lincoln. A probable explanation for the move would be that, not for the first time, Dorchester was found to be too much out of the way to make a suitable centre for so large a Diocese.

As far as St. Frideswide's monastery was concerned, the Norman Conquest left matters pretty

much as they were. According to William of Malmesbury, "few clerks were left there and they lived very much as they liked," but it must not be forgotten that they were seculars, who therefore were not tied by the stern rules of a regular order. The tale of their possessions shows evidence of stagnation as to material fortunes which, in those days, would certainly argue a similar state in matters spiritual. It so happens that the cartulary gives a list of the rehabilitated monastery's property "recovered" for it by King Aethelred and evidently copied from a schedule attached to the royal charter of 1004. It is not necessary to go into detail beyond saying that there was land at Winchendon in Bucks, a plot of ground at Whithull, according to Mr. Parker probably near Tackley, whose name survives in Whitehill Farm to-day, and about three hides of land in Bolles (the modern parish of St. Clements), Covele (Cowley), and Hedington, all within a mile or so of Magdalen Bridge. The point is that when the Domesday Survey was taken in 1086, the landed property of the canons does not seem to have increased at all and, as far as can be determined, is practically identical with that of eighty years before; while of their fifteen "mansiones" in Oxford itself, eight were "waste," i.e. untenanted, or perhaps in disrepair.

There always had been rivalry between the secular canons and the monastic orders, and, whereas the latter were well organized bodies able to exert influence, the former were less united and did not command the same respect and attention. If then Mr. Parker's dates and suggestions are correct, the

seculars would have been in possession for the last hundred years, which might well account for the insignificance of St. Frideswide's, especially when it is remembered how, during the same period, the neighbouring regulars of Abingdon were increasing in wealth and importance by leaps and bounds.

Now, however, St. Frideswide's was to fall into line, for, in the year 1111, according to Matthew Paris, the monastery passed into the hands of the Chancellor Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, who at once put in regular Augustinian canons with Guimond, the king's chaplain, at their head. There is uncertainty about the date, for the king's charter of confirmation was given in 1122, but Kennet ("Paroch. Antiqs.," Vol. I, p. 117) quotes the Corpus copy of the cartulary, and says that property was given to the *Prior and Canons of St. Frideswide about* 1116, so that the Priory might have been in existence *de facto* from the earlier date. In connexion with the first prior one of the usual queer stories is related. As a more or less educated man he apparently had become discontented with his lot and anxious to improve his fortunes. It so happened that on one Rogation Sunday it fell to him to read before the king the words, "it rained not on the land by the space of three years and six months"; pretending to be illiterate, he read thus, "*non pluit super terram annos unus unus unus et menses quinque unus.*" When asked why he read thus Guimond's pent-up feelings could be restrained no longer, and he indignantly burst out with, "Because you confer bishoprics and ecclesiastical benefices upon men who read so. And know that henceforth I shall

serve only Christ the King of kings who knows how to recompense His servants not only with temporal but eternal rewards." Henry I's charter of 1122 not only included the formal foundation of the monastery, but also a chapel of the Holy Trinity by the east gate and an annual fair to be held from the vigil of the feast of the Translation of St. Benedict (July 11th) to the end of five days following, all of which was confirmed by Pope Honorius a few years later and, c.1142, by the Empress Maud.

The result of the change over from seculars to regulars bears out what has been said above as to the influence which the latter could exert in their own favour as compared with the former. Henry's charter gave very substantial privileges to the Priory, such as exemption from the payment of all customs due to the bishop and archdeacon, no light matter from the point of view of finance, that the Priory tenants and servants were to owe no suit to any secular court in Oxford, and that the canons should have the lane running along at the foot of the city wall as far as their property extended, with liberty to build up against the wall. The most important benefit received was the right to hold the annual fair, for this brought with it a lucrative income in the shape of tolls and payments of various kinds. The value of these last was enhanced by the fact that, during the period of the fair, the keys of the gates were to be handed over by the townspeople to the prior and the town courts were not to function—in other words the Priory was to reign supreme. This favourable position must have been too much for the cupidity of Bishop Roger, the

virtual founder of the monastery, for he is said to have then usurped to his own use the fair with its rights. Certainly the privilege must have soon become of considerable value, for, in the Great Rolls of the Pipe under the year 1155-6, the king received from the canons twenty-five shillings *pro consuetudine ferie*. Apparently Roger kept what he had seized successfully in spite of a re-confirmation by the king, c.1133, of the Priory's privilege. In fact these royal confirmations were of doubtful value except presumably from the point of view of enriching the grantor with the necessary fees! Certainly something more potent than a charter must ultimately have moved the greedy bishop, for in 1139, wondrous to relate, he is found restoring to the Priory "whatever I might have unjustly taken from them!" The admission implied by such an adverb must have required some effort for such a man to make. Moreover, when we come to examine what was covered by the word "whatever," we find that it by no means began and ended with the fair but included various lands "which are said to belong to the altar of St. Frideswide," namely the place called Beneseye (Binsey) and property in Walton which lay roughly where now is Walton Street.

By about this date the Priory had acquired the advowson of some seven churches in Oxford, including those of St. Mildred, All Saints, and St. Michael at the north gate, to which was added later by a bull of Pope Eugenius III authority to the canons to serve them, *salvo jure Episcopi*, on account of the unsatisfactory character of the

secular priests appointed by them. In 1145 they laid claim to the church of St. Mary Magdalen just outside the north gate. The claim was disputed by the Abbey of Oseney, founded in 1129 and increasing rapidly in importance, with the result that by 1176 St. Frideswide's is found to have been silenced. In this connexion it is worth mentioning that not only was the church in dispute but also the tithes of Norham and Berechcroft, and that these names have been preserved to-day, some 750 years later, in Norham Road and Gardens and in Beechcroft Road, all in that highly respectable suburb known as North Oxford.

However, not even with a regular order did St. Frideswide's ever produce any very famous man. The second prior, Robert of Cricklade, was probably one of the best known. He had some note as a learned man, and Professor Holland has quoted a Balliol College MS. in which Robert says he is "devoting himself as a scholar to the government of the schools," while Mr. A. T. Leach has referred to Robert's book, "Jacob's Marriage," which he says he wrote when "a scholar and 'regent master.'" He is, however, best known to the world in quite a different way, namely, as being one of those who was benefited miraculously by St. Thomas of Canterbury. The story is to be found among Robertson's volumes of the Rolls Series dealing with the life of St. Thomas. It appears that Robert, when head of St. Frideswide's, had occasion one day to journey into Sicily on business connected with the Priory and was walking by the sea from Catinia to Syracuse. The sea breeze affected his legs and

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THE NORTH TRANSEPT

feet, making them swell, but he thought he had cured the trouble by fomentations and plasters. On his return to England, however, the malady kept on recurring with symptoms of which he gives elaborate details. It finally became so bad that when he preached to the people he was compelled to sit. He therefore determined to seek help from England's new saint and made the journey to Canterbury in considerable pain. Upon his arrival he at once bathed his limbs in the holy water and then returned home to find that on the journey back the trouble began to subside, and by the time he had reached Oxford nothing of his trouble, except a slight redness of the skin, remained.

In view of the references above to Professor Holland and Mr. Leach, it may not be out of place to glance very briefly at a controversy of much interest which has arisen in connexion with St. Frideswide's and the origin of the University. Evidence as to the latter is, unfortunately, far from being easily collected, and it can only be surmised that men gathered in this place for purposes of education at an early date. The first traces of anything definite are those connected with Theobaldus Stampensis, who was in Oxford about the year 1117 and onwards with a number of clerks under him. In 1149 it is said that one Vacarius was teaching civil law here, and from Mr. Leach's reference above it would seem that, if Robert of Cricklade had been a " regent master," there were degrees already being given, for the " regent master " is the resident teaching M.A. of modern days. Dean Rashdall, in his elaborate work on the mediaeval universities, is disposed to

date the commencement of Oxford as a real and definite "Studium Generale" or University from the time of the Henry II—Becket quarrel round about the year 1167, and Prof. Holland says that by 1187 the University was firmly established and that degrees began to be given about this time. Both these last-mentioned authorities look upon the growth of the University as not having an ecclesiastical origin at all, but as being a gradual increase from a small and casual beginning. Mr. Leach, on the other hand, is the protagonist of those who maintain that the University sprang from the schools kept by the *secular* canons of St. Frideswide's on the analogy of the rise of the University of Paris from the schools of Notre Dame. He rejects Dean Rashdall's arguments and prefers to think that as St. Frideswide's before the coming of the Austin canons was a collegiate church, it must have had schools with a schoolmaster or chancellor. He cites several clear instances where these two names are synonymous in answer to the dean, who considers them as quite distinct. Mr. Leach would therefore see the secular canons' schools with their schoolmaster not passing beneath the control of the new foundation under Guimond, but remaining apart under the jurisdiction of the bishop and developing into the University with its Chancellor, the sometime schoolmaster, as it is to-day. If the intriguing theory of Mr. Leach could be fully proved, the link between St. Frideswide's and the University would be extremely interesting, but it cannot be said that, without any documentary evidence, he has done more than suggest a possible case; and, seeing that

the secular canons never appear to have been in a very flourishing condition, it does not seem likely that they would have had schools of such importance (it is not even known that they had any at all) as to be capable of forming the foundation for a university.

During Robert of Cricklade's tenure of office, the work of rebuilding the church of St. Frideswide's must have been begun, a work which, in spite of many changes and ill chances, has come down to us more or less intact. Adrian IV, the Englishman Pope (1154–9), also helped the new monastery, for he confirmed all the privileges granted by Henry I and a bull of his, preserved in the cartulary, inhibits the Bishop of Lincoln from holding synods or ordinations in the church of St. Frideswide or its chapels without the canons' consent, because such things "make for the upsetting of their peace and quietness." Benefactions also began to come in. About 1160 Malcolm, King of Scots, gave Piddington, near Bicester, for the support of five canons, and, about five years later, one Richard Fitz Oger presented his mill of Hocton (Houghton) and its appurtenances, together with Hugh the miller, his wife, chattels, and infants! The first of these two gifts must, however, have been of little profit, and as likely as not the king's title to it was questionable, for the Priory afterwards found the property continually being claimed and taken away by others and endless litigation required to get it back. In fact it was not until two hundred long years had passed by that the canons got possession of this property finally assured to them! Another and a

kinder friend, c.1185, one Thomas Fitz Thomas, thought of the invalids, and gave a rent of eighteen pence per annum to provide firewood, *Deo et Infirmarie Sct. Frideswide Oxon et canonibus ibidem egrotantibus* (sick).

Towards the close of the century Prior Philip, after much preparation, arranged and carried out the first translation of the bones of St. Frideswide from their now unknown original resting-place. This new departure was on the initiative, no doubt, of the prior who, by his writings about her miracles, had shown himself a devoted follower of their patron and was evidently anxious to promote her honour while incidentally adding thereby to the fame and prosperity of the Priory. On February 12, 1180–1, therefore, behold a great and august gathering, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, supported by the Bishops of Winchester, Ely, Norwich, and St. David's, and by Alexius, the Papal Legate to Scotland. Again the actual site of the Shrine is a matter for conjecture, for all we are told by Thomas Wikes is that the relics were " installed with much honour in a shrine." Not so very many years had elapsed since this grand function when the turn of fortune's wheel brought trouble to the Priory ; for in 1194 the church and buildings were attacked by fire, that common scourge of all civilization, especially in the Middle Ages. Whether, as a matter of fact, very much damage was done is not clear. On the Chapter House doorway may be seen the reddened stonework proving that fire has been upon it at some time, and a bull of Pope Celestine III asked for alms from the faithful towards the rebuilding of

the church and Priory *vehementis ignis incendio combusta*. It may be that the papal language was somewhat exaggerated in order to spur on the said faithful, for, judging from the main fabric of the Cathedral, it does not seem to have been affected to any great extent.

Quite early in the thirteenth century the Priory is found acting as a kind of trustee for the University by means of that excellent institution known as the "Chest of St. Frideswide." This "chest" requires a word of explanation because the title is a little misleading. It was so called for no other reason than that it was kept for safe custody in the Priory church with which it had otherwise nothing to do, because in point of fact it contained moneys paid to the University at the rate of fifty-two shillings per annum by the townsmen of Oxford. This was under an award of the Papal Legate in 1214, in "expiation" of insults and injuries offered to scholars and, more especially, of the unlawful hanging, in 1209, of three clerks. The arrangement as to the "chest" was made in pursuance of an order by Bishop Hugh Wells (1209–35), the money being employed by way of loan to poor scholars who were expected to deposit a pledge of some sort against the advance. Matters, however, were evidently not managed properly, for in 1240 Bishop Grosseteste was obliged to make a new ruling whereby the "chest" was to be under the care of a brother nominated by the prior and approved by the Chancellor, together with two "discreet" persons chosen by the University. No doubt this fund was a very great help and therefore popular for bequests of

money to augment it were fairly frequent. At all times various "chests" of this kind existed in the University, and even down to this day there is the "Cista Universitatis" with its attendant "curators" who, in other words, are responsible for the financial side of University business.

In the year 1221 the Priory found itself involved in a lawsuit with its sovereign over the matter of the church of Oakle, which had been given to the former by the Empress Maud. It is a little curious to note that it was generally the benefactions from the highly placed friends of St. Frideswide's which brought so much trouble in their train, as witness also the gift from Malcolm, King of Scots! However, the king claimed possession of the church and obtained a verdict in his favour from a civil court. The canons forthwith did the usual thing and appealed to the Pope, who ordered a fresh trial to be held, an order which, according to Dugdale, "was thought so prejudicial to the king's court, crown, and dignity that a memorable Prohibition was issued out against them." In the Patent Rolls the king is found naively complaining that, in their appeal to the Pope, the canons omitted to say that their possession in the first place was illegal! He himself, not to be outdone, appealed to the Papal Legate, but presumably without success, for in 1316 the convent made good its claim to present to the church. During this time it seems that St. Frideswide's relations with its neighbour at Oseney were not particularly friendly. In the quaint language of the latter's English Register, edited by the late Rev. A. Clark for the Early English Text Society,

p. 57, we are told that between Richard de Grey, Abbot of Oseney, and Simon, "prior of Seynte ffrideswith moony stryves were i-meved afore jugges from the pope Delegate and also afore Arbitrars of the commune consent of parties i-chose" upon the question of tithes in the village of Northam (cf. p. 192) and on the hay of the mead of Brademore (preserved in the modern Bradmore Road). The monks of Oseney charged the canons with forging deeds, not unjustifiably as it would seem from modern investigations, and much ill-feeling was aroused. Their quarrel was nominally settled in 1225 by a document sealed with their respective seals and that of the "worshipful archdecun," but it broke out again two years later over more tithes at Water Eaton. On these occasions Oseney is generally found to come off the best, and in this case an annual payment of two shillings per annum by St. Frideswide's in commutation of the tithe settles one more of these bones of contention.

Possibly all this litigation was too much for Prior Simon, for in 1228 he handed in his resignation and one Elias was elected in his stead. A little later the Close Rolls unfold a serious monastic scandal, for in 1234 it comes to light that Elias has been guilty of incontinence and has had recourse to two Jews named David and Copin for an "accommodation" to the extent of £43, which has now to be repaid by instalments! Such conduct cannot be allowed, certainly not by so strong a man as Bishop Grosseteste, and so Elias is forthwith deposed. Not that he was so easily got rid of, for, according to the "Victoria County History," he appealed from his sentence and

a tribunal, on which sat the Prior of Bolton and others, reversed the original verdict and cast the bishop in costs to the amount of 140 marks. However, a timely appeal to the Pope saved the situation, for the first decision was restored and the Prior of Bolton with his colleagues is summoned to Rome to answer for their share in the trouble! After one or two abortive elections of members of the community, an outsider, in the person of William of Gloucester, the cellarer of Dunstable Priory, is brought in to occupy the post. His appointment perhaps improved the general confidence, for during the next few years the cartulary mentions, *inter alia*, a number of small benefactions which were made to the convent. The infirmary, again, is not forgotten, for, while Walter FitzWalter gives a rent of two shillings per annum for the upkeep of a lamp there, Ralph de Brakle and others give various amounts for the general benefit of the sick brethren. The refectory also is further equipped by Reginald the Mason with a mazer bowl for the high table, and by John called Curci, a burgess, with an annual rent of four shillings towards the upkeep of the supply of towels (manutergia); while, c.1235, Henry Inge gave twelve pence to keep a lamp burning in St. Lucy's Chapel during the celebration of Mass. Yet another benefaction went towards increasing the canons' clothing, and this brings us to the year 1258 when, in the Calendar of Papal Letters, we find the Pope granting a faculty to the prior and Augustinian Convent of St. Frideswide to wear caps suited to their order at the divine offices, "so great in your parts is the vehemence of the cold!" It must

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TOMB : BISHOP KING

be regretfully admitted that the damp and penetrating quality of the cold of a real Oxford winter, once experienced, will not easily be forgotten, added to which St. Frideswide's lay low by the river, and of course in those days there was no method of warming the church. Hence arose the use of the " almuce " or fur tippet which was afterwards, and is to-day, a privileged garment for members of a chapter.

And now the country is plunged into civil war by Henry III against Simon de Montfort and the barons. The king comes to Oxford in 1263 on his way to Gloucester and, not without much trepidation, screws up his courage and boldly enters the town. Robert of Gloucester gives a rather interesting description of how Henry set about it. After referring to the ancient tradition about no king daring to set foot in Oxford, which a very slight knowledge of past history would have shown to have been broken long ago, Robert goes on to say that the king was staying with the Friars Preachers, i.e. the Dominicans, many of whom urged him to enter the town prophesying that no harm would come to him if he had *god devocion*. Henry at length agrees and, fortified by many Masses and prayers offered on his behalf, together with a day's fast and with a friar on either side to *sikeri* (succour) him, *a vote* (on foot) " he dude this dede " and came into Oxford without mishap. To St. Frideswide's shrine he brought many gifts and promised more should he be successful in the forthcoming struggle. The following year he held a Parliament in Oxford and gave the quite munificent sum of one hundred shil-

lings per annum for the maintenance of a chaplain to say a daily Mass in honour of St. Frideswide and for the benefit of the souls of the king's ancestors and successors, and to keep four wax candles burning night and day around the saint's shrine for ever. By 1266 Simon de Montfort was dead and the war virtually over, but a certain number of barons still held out and so the king orders the mayor and burgesses to put Oxford in a state of defence. Among other things the ford below St. Frideswide's Priory is to be dug out and deepened, and finally, if the king's enemies come to the town the citizens are to go forth with horses and arms "to grieve and subdue them!"

Whether it was that the king took an especial interest in the Priory as the result of his successful visit, or whether it was that the then prior, Robert de Olneye, was a man of ability and loyalty is not certain, for we know little or nothing about him except from casual references in the Patent Rolls, but this much is clear, that he was employed by the king for a number of purposes at this time. Some few years previously he had, at the royal command, stopped an unlawful tournament at Brackley, and now in 1267 he was appointed collector of the king's tenth in the Diocese of Lincoln. This work in such a far-flung Diocese took him at least two years, and before that was finished he was made an eschaetor to tallage (i.e. tax) the king's demesnes on this side Trent. But this was more than the hard-worked man felt could be endured, and he therefore wrote back to say that he could not conveniently attend to the said office "because of the business of his

house." At the same time the king's interest in the canons unfortunately took a less pleasing form, for, from now onwards, we find him at intervals planting upon the Priory various old retainers to whom, presumably, he felt he owed some recompense for faithful service. Thus, one fine day, Richard Andreu, " sometime the king's serjeant," arrived at the gate to be taken in and found in the necessaries of life until he should see fit to depart this life. It is true that the king undertook later on that the Priory should not be charged with any one else during the said Richard's life, but beyond this small alleviation it does not appear that Henry made the slightest attempt to help in the maintenance of his pensioner on this or any subsequent occasion.

We have already had a reference to the Jews, when dealing with Prior Elias, and now we come to a somewhat unpleasant episode in which they took the leading part. By way of preface it may be mentioned that their quarter lay round about where the Town Hall now stands and that, according to the Rev. H. E. Salter, the site of their earlier synagogue was pretty much where is now the northern bastion of the College front. They were thus very close to the Priory. It so fell out that on Ascension Day, 1268, or rather on the second day of the festival, when all the parish priests of Oxford, in accordance with an old custom, came in solemn procession to visit the church of " blessed Frideswyde," that certain Jews, *daemoniaco spiritu arrepti*, snatched from the hands of the bearer a carrying cross which was being used in the procession, broke it up, and threw

it in fragments on the ground. This insult led, of course, to trouble. An official inquiry was held about "the ill deed done at Oxford" and as the king with his son Edward happened to be at Woodstock at the time, the information was quickly laid before him. This resulted in a royal letter from Windsor in 1269 ordering that two crosses should be made at the Jews' expense, one to be of silver gilt for carrying, and another of marble to be a fixture. The former, which was to be borne before the officers of the University on solemn occasions, was to be kept at St. Frideswide's for safe custody. The latter, bearing four Latin hexameters on a gold plaque setting forth its why and wherefore, was to be erected somewhere between St. Frideswide's and the Jewry, where it remained for one hundred and fifty years.

A case occurred in 1285 of St. Frideswide's church being used as a sanctuary by one John de Dernington, a clerk who, having killed a man and taken refuge in the church, was released and sent away from the town by Thomas, Chancellor of the University and Bishop of St. David's—for which the said bishop got into trouble with the king. The mere fact that a strange bishop should have done such a thing at all in a Diocese other than his own would not call for ecclesiastical comment in this particular case because, owing to the huge extent of the Diocese of Lincoln and to Oxford being on its extreme southern boundary, it was an understood thing that bishops, visiting the town or the king at Woodstock, might perform minor episcopal duties as substitutes for and without prejudice to the rights

of my lord of Lincoln. However, in 1289 came a great occasion for which even the bishop of the Diocese himself was scarcely sufficient, for in this year came the second and last official translation of the bones of St. Frideswide into yet another and more gorgeous shrine, the beautiful support of which is still more or less with us. Unlike those of Canterbury and elsewhere there seems to be no record of the designer and maker of that of St. Frideswide, but we do know from Wikes's Chronicle that for some years previously the work of preparation had been going on, and from the cartulary that it had attracted a good deal of attention. Evidence of this is afforded by John of Elsfield, who " specially gave and assigned " a house " to the fabric of the new shrine of St. Frideswide." The gathering this time was perhaps not quite so brilliant as before, but it included the Bishop of Salisbury and the Duke of Cornwall, who came to see the relics put " in a new and more costly shrine in the said church and near the spot in which it was formerly placed." Where this spot exactly was is also a matter of doubt. Mr. Park Harrison inclined to the opinion that it was about where the base is now and showed that the pier against the east wall at this point has no colonnette but a flat face on its western corner, as though to make room for persons passing round some special object. Here, then, or at some point not far away, the bones of the saint were destined to remain undisturbed until the time of the suppression of the Priory, when new and strange experiences were in store for them as will in due course be related.

Earlier on in this century a change had taken place as regards the status of the Priory church. From very early times, in addition to serving as a chapel to the canons, St. Frideswide's had had a parish attached to it, so that even then it was performing a dual purpose even as it does on slightly different lines to-day. It originally started as a rectory, but it would seem that in 1225, according to Ant. à Wood, Bishop Hugh Wells made an *ordinatio vicariae*, by which he reduced it to a vicarage, while a little later it was made free from the jurisdiction of the archdeacon. In 1249 a chaplain was presented *ad vicariam altaris S. Crucis in Ecclesiâ S. Fritheswythe Oxon*, the altar of the Holy Cross being the name universally given in monastic churches to the altar for the people as distinguished from that reserved for the monks. Ant. à Wood also says that in 1309 the then Bishop of Lincoln confirmed the church as a vicarage and ordered that the vicar should have a "sufficient exhibition of victualls as any of the canons besides," together with a suitable lodging, twenty-four shillings per annum for his "livery," a certain share of legacies to the church, and necessary assistance in his work. Not that the parish was ever of any great size as is proved by the cartulary, which says that in 1298 the parish of St. Edward on the north was no longer able to support its minister, and was therefore amalgamated with St. Frideswide. The latter then ceased to exist as a parish, its vicar being transferred to St. Edward but receiving his stipend from the Priory.

It must, unfortunately, be admitted that the fourteenth century has a bad record in the annals of the

Priory if the details that have come down to us are to be trusted. It begins inauspiciously in 1304 by a complaint of the prior to the king that certain persons had broken open the gates of the close of the Priory, assaulted the servants, killed some of the cattle, and thrown them into the Cherwell. Four years later, while the prior and canons were at dinner, the "chest" of St. Frideswide was robbed of the sum of twelve marks by John de Sutton, the porter, and John Tykeys, the sub-sacrist, and the fact that they were both minor officials of the Priory of course made matters worse. Meanwhile the Priory property became in need of repair, due perhaps in part to the prevailing lawlessness, and in 1316 the king granted to the canons part of the royal quarry at Wheatley with licence to dig and remove stones therefrom for the fabric of their church and houses in the town. Possibly the sudden bounty of the king was due to mild prickings of conscience, for, only the previous year, Robert Tackele, his old retainer and pensioner at the Priory's expense, had passed away, and barely had he been buried before the king produced yet another "deserving case," one Geoffrey de la Naperye, to take the dead man's place! Then follows a most astonishing little tale. In the Patent Rolls for 1318 there is a complaint by Henry de Creton relating to a "corrody" that he had bought for himself and a groom in the Priory. A "corrody" in this connexion might practically be translated as an "annuity in kind," for he had paid over to the previous Prior Alexander the sum of £100 in return for which he was to be entitled to permanent board and

lodging. It was a little arrangement of quite common occurrence, and doubtless was a good bargain for either side. The complaint, however, here, was that when all had been settled, the prior and others proceeded to break into his rooms, stole his goods, and, most serious of all, snatched away the writing showing his right to the "corrody." We are not told whether any notice was taken of so scandalous a happening; all we know is that Robert the Prior remained in office for many years afterwards. That the Priory during this time was in considerable poverty there is little doubt, and that the prior had raised money by any and every device was painfully proved in 1329–40, during which period the monastery acknowledges debts amounting to the enormous sum of £1,200, due to Florentine and other money-lenders. So bad in fact did matters ultimately become that in 1354 the king, according to the Patent Rolls, out of compassion for the depression of the Priory "by misrule and adversities as well as by debts wherein it is involved," took the monastery into his special protection and handed it over to receivers who, except for supplying reasonable maintenance for the inmates, were to devote the revenues to the payment of debt and upkeep of the buildings. Prior Robert himself must have been a man of toughish hide, for in 1330 he found himself, for a change, at loggerheads with the sheriff. It seems that during the fair his bailiffs had arrested one Thomas de Legton of Abingdon who had been imprisoned for felony and had escaped. Whether the said Thomas may have stiffened the monastic back with a timely contribution to the convent's

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THE CHAPTER HOUSE : DOORWAY

empty purse, or whether the prior really felt that the sheriff's demand was an infringement of the monastery's right to be in supreme command of the town for the duration of the fair is not shown, but at any rate it required a writ to make him relinquish his captive! It seems, too, as though the Priory was not in any way popular with the townspeople. Robberies have already been mentioned and yet again, in 1336, a number of citizens appear to have seized and imprisoned the prior and canons, threatening them with all sorts of pains and penalties, even to death by burning, until the terrified canons each bound himself by an oath to observe the statutes of the town. The invaders then started to loot as usual, and took two carts laden with corn and other goods, ending up with impounding some fifty of the convent's swine and keeping them so long without food that thirty of them died. It may be suspected that this animosity on the part of the townsmen was in connexion with St. Frideswide's fair and the part that the convent played in it, for the behaviour of the canons even led later on to trouble between them and the University.

In 1337 Robert de Dorvestone's tempestuous term of office ceased, and John de Littelmore succeeded him. Perhaps the new-comer had a slightly better reputation, for in 1341–2 he is found as collector of wool in the county of Oxford on behalf of the king; but, alas! he failed to give satisfaction, and landed himself in prison for not carrying out his work properly. However, somehow or other he must have rehabilitated himself for, four years later, he, the head of a more or less bankrupt monastery, was

actually appointed a collector of the one-tenth voted to the king from the clergy in the Lincoln Diocese. To do him justice there seems to have been no cause for complaint in his fulfilment of his office this time. About his successor, Nicolas de Hungerford, there appears to have been a little difficulty. He was in due course elected after John de Littelmore's death, did fealty to the king, and received the temporalities, but his election was quashed by the Bishop of Lincoln as having been in some way irregular. Perhaps the bishop had a shrewd idea as to the character of the new prior and thus tried to get rid of him, but, if so, his lordship was not successful, for Nicolas soon entered upon his office and proceeded to justify most emphatically his Diocesan's suspicions. Discipline became more and more lax, and the general statutes of the order, promulgated so recently as 1337, against dancing, the keeping of sporting dogs, and other similar irregularities were calmly set at naught. Such indiscipline was, of course, certain not to stop there and matters came to a head in 1354 when, according to the "Victoria County History," the bishop was obliged to hold an inquiry into a serious brawl between the prior, supported by some armed rowdies out of the town, and the sub-prior and canons, who were interrupted while at service in church, dragged away and knocked about. The sub-prior complained that his superior was wasting the money of the monastery and that "religion is at a low ebb." In the same year, according to the Patent Rolls, the prior complains in his turn that some outside people so violently attacked the Priory with "drawn swords and up-

lifted clubs," intending to kill him, that he fled in fear of his life and for some time did not dare to return. It is a very extraordinary thing to modern ideas that so little real notice seems to have been taken by those in authority of such scandalous goings on. Doubtless the accounts of what happened lost nothing in the telling, but abundant evidence has been given to show that grave disorder must have existed, and yet among all these incompetent and most unsatisfactory priors there seems to have been only one actually recorded as having been deposed. Perhaps things might have been different had all the bishops been Grossetestes, or possibly private influence may partially explain matters, as will be seen in a few minutes in the case of the prior under discussion. Meanwhile more debts come to light and once more the prior and convent are forced to acknowledge them ; but, contrary to the earlier cases, it is noticeable that now there is not the same record of repayment. A rather amusing little story is to be read in the " Archaeological Journal," Vol. LXXII, p. 248, where the will of Master William Doune, Archdeacon of Leicester, is quoted. Presumably he had in some way been previously connected with the monastery, for he left five marks to repair the church and cloister of St. Frideswide with ten marks more for its necessary buildings. Later on in the will he left £10 to the Priory itself and, evidently knowing his man, deliberately charged his legacy with the condition that it was not intended for, and should not be pocketed by the prior ! The following year, 1362, according to Wilkins's " Concilia," Vol. III, p. 51,

some of the monks appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury about their prior, Nicolas, saying that he had greatly wasted the goods of the Priory and was leading a dissolute life. Archbishop Islip thereupon has the offender cited before him and, as the case was evidently bad, his Grace came the same year and held a visitation of the Priory, but with no permanently good result. Now at length there peeps out a possible explanation of the power of Nicolas to maintain his position, for, according to the Calendar of Papal Petitions for 1365, it appears that the prior had exchanged his office for a vicarage with one John de Dodeford, Canon of Carlisle. Nicolas seems to have been guilty of simony during the transaction, but he protested to the Pope his own great simplicity and John de Dodeford's extraordinary guile. His Holiness, however, was not to be deceived, and deprived Nicolas of both vicarage and Priory. The Prince of Wales now asks that his chaplain, the sometime prior, may be absolved or the case re-heard. The latter is the course pursued and presumably Nicolas, with the aid of his powerful patron, is reinstated, for he died in 1370 and was prior at the time of his death. Not that his evil record ended with his reinstatement, for it appears that in 1367 Prior Nicolas had occasion to go abroad and appointed attorneys for two years to represent him. What his business may have been we know not, but in one short year matters seem to have reached a positive climax of extravagance and recklessness, for in that small space of time it is recorded that he had " bound his Priory in such intolerable sums in the parts beyond the seas that the pos-

sessions and faculties of the Priory if those sums were to be paid, would not suffice to support the canons and the necessary charges of the Priory." Once more, therefore, the king steps in and hands over the Priory with all its property to two officials who are to manage it on businesslike lines.

In 1370 Nicolas de Hungerford is dead—but we get no relief! In the ordinary course John de Walyngford is elected to fill the vacancy and goes through all the necessary formalities; and yet it appears that he is in difficulties because one John de Dodeford (the aforementioned gentleman from Carlisle) has claimed the Priory "by untrue suggestion," i.e. as to the exchange with Nicolas, is trying to impugn John de Walyngford's election and intrude himself into his place. An order comes for Dodeford's arrest and Walyngford has peace, at any rate, for a time. John de Dodeford, however, makes further efforts to oust the rightful prior which lead, in 1374, to another order for his arrest and that of his supporters and to their being brought before the king. Contrary to all expectation, this meeting with Edward III seems to have made John de Dodeford's fortune for, behold! John de Walyngford resigns, and by 1375 John de Dodeford is pardoned, elected, and confirmed as prior, and finally, in return for a little *douceur* of £20, he gets the temporalities! Everything did not, all the same, go quite smoothly with him, for a Close Roll for 1376 quietly mentions that the king in that year sent an order to the Constable of the Tower of London bidding him release the Prior of St. Frideswide's! This may, however, have been in connexion with the

pardon of the previous year. At any rate we will hope so. Nor did he keep the temporalities long. During his retirement an elaborate inquiry into the Priory's property had been held. The monastery is found to be overburdened with debt and ruined by the improvident rule of its priors; lands have been alienated, pensions granted right and left, and ornaments disposed of by the "fraud of certain of the said Priory." A dismal tale with the inevitable ending that there is not enough money to go round. Again, therefore, all the property is sequestered by the king and John, Duke of Lancaster, is put in charge of the finances and every effort is to be made to make both ends meet. Quite early in 1378 John de Dodeford has found a new home for he is now in the Marshalsea Prison in South London, where, in spite of protests of innocence, he lies indicted for various felonies!

And what of John de Walyngford all this time? He has remained on at St. Frideswide's, smarting no doubt under a feeling that he has been unjustly used, for we cannot help feeling that his so-called resignation was but an euphemism for forced retirement. The prior, *de facto* at any rate, is now in prison, and during his "absence" has deputed his steward, Richard Segworth, to act for him—the opportunity is good, and so uprises John de Walyngford with sundry canons robbing the steward and putting him in chains. Dodeford in prison hears of this and forthwith complains to the king, asking for redress, to which the king replies by ordering the release of Segworth and the arrest of the rebels by the Mayor of Oxford. A few years go by, in com-

parative peace it may be hoped, and then, in 1382, violence breaks out again, *diabolicâ instigacione*, on the part of John de Walyngford and his supporters who, together with the prior, seem to have returned by this time from their respective prisons! From the prior's complaint in the Patent Rolls it appears that his assailants on this occasion "combined with lay power," lay in wait for and severely assaulted him as he passed on his way to attend to his cure of souls and was saying the canonical hours. Having wounded him dangerously they then went, as usual, to the Priory's Manor of Bolles and proceeded to plunder the place, stealing corn and cattle and seventeen pairs of swans. The usual order from the king for the arrest of the offenders follows and that is all that is heard of the matter. In the same year it seems to have been decided that it was necessary to settle some outstanding disputes between the Priory and the University relating to certain rights and franchises. For this purpose the king sends a commission of oyer and terminer to the archbishop and other bishops to inquire into the matter. Advantage seems to have been taken of this to hold also a Convocation of the Province at St. Frideswide's, at which among other things a tenth from the benefices of the Province was granted to the king. Four years later the Priory, according to official records, is said to be void and the first thought that springs to mind is that the prior may, for some reason or other, be again enjoying the king's hospitality! Strength is given to this suspicion by the fact that, in 1387, there is pardon to John de Dodeford of all trespasses of vert and venison in the forests of Stowe

and Bernewode. Stowe Wood still remains high up on the hills some five miles away between Elsfield and Beckley, noted for its oak trees and even more for the wonderful views over Otmoor from Oxford round to Banbury and Bicester. The "pardon" seems to have been thoroughly genuine, for in the same year the prior is appointed to survey the king's manors in the neighbouring counties, and two years later the king's confidence is such that John de Dodeford is given the important post of the governorship of Wallingford Castle and as "disposer of works of reparation" there. But if reformation had come, it had come too late, for in 1391 this strange prior died and Thomas Bradewelle was elected in his stead.

In September of the following year the city records show that the Duke of Gloucester stayed at the Priory and, perhaps in consequence of the poverty of that establishment, the city chamberlain accounts for twenty-seven shillings and fourpence spent in entertaining his Grace there with bread, wine, rabbits, capons, and chicken. Earlier in the year also one of the canons, John Bannyge, had conferred upon him by Pope Boniface IX the dignity of a papal chaplain. It was not seemingly of great importance, because the Patent Rolls give many other instances, and a few years later Richard Godyngdon, another canon here, was similarly honoured. Sad to say, these appointments on occasion were used as a cloak for wrongdoing, and in 1400 the Pope found himself obliged to order the Bishop of Lincoln to recall to St. Frideswide's John Wodestok, one of the canons and a papal chaplain. Under cover of the Pope's letter conferring the dignity, this man

Photograph] [*Photochrom Co.*

THE NAVE, LOOKING EAST

had left the Priory and was leading a dissolute life. Subject to this escapade of the errant canon, the record of the monastery for some time is as dull as it was formerly lurid. That it was a long time in turning the financial corner is clear from the fact that when Richard Oxenford was elected prior in 1405, the king was still administering the temporalities. In other ways, at any rate, the reputation of the Priory must have improved, for in 1409 Pope Alexander V granted to St. Frideswide's an indult for the prior and his successors to wear the mitre, ring, and other pontifical insignia, and, in the Priory, its subject-places and churches belonging to it, to give solemn benediction at Mass, Vespers, and Matins, provided that no bishop or papal legate were present. In the same year the prior is appointed a collector of part of the tenth granted to the king. The only blot on the proceedings was that when Richard came to make up his accounts before handing in his share of the collection, he found that he had lost £8 6s. 8d. and had to make good out of his own pocket! In 1423 the Bishop of Lincoln held a visitation of the monastery, and evidently found the finances still very weak. Once more it was urged that all extra expenses should be curtailed, jewels were to be got out of pawn, no corrodies were to be granted, and no business of an important character to be carried through without the consent of a majority of the convent. The canon also who served the chapel of Margaret Well, i.e. Binsey, for the performance of which the monastery was responsible, was to have a proper allowance for himself and his servant.

Although we have not so far found that there was much intercourse between St. Frideswide's and the University we do find about the middle of this century that the two occasionally joined forces. From "Anstey," Vol. II, we learn that, every term, there had to be a solemn procession to St. Frideswide's where Mass was said on behalf of University benefactors, the royal family, and *pro pace studii* (for the peace of the University). A procession also took place on November 16th, St. Edmund of Abingdon's day (i.e. the former Archbishop of Canterbury), which happened also to be the anniversary of King Henry III's death. About 1445 a further ceremony was inaugurated. By a majority of regents, acting, according to Ant. à Wood, on an injunction from the primate, it was firstly pointed out that since relics of "Blessed Frideswyde" reposed in the town of Oxford they ought to be specially honoured by the University, and secondly it was ordered that, as by her prayers the University might have more peace and quietness, so there should be a solemn procession in each Lent Term to the church of St. Frideswide, where Mass should be said and prayers offered for the "tranquillity" of the University. Ant. à Wood adds that a sermon was afterwards to be preached at the "Crosse" in the churchyard, the remains of which, it is fair to think, may be seen in the gallery of the south transept. Again, some few years later, the Chapter House was used for the election of Master Thomas Chaundeler to the Chancellorship of the University, and it was there that he took the oath and assumed the insignia of his office.

According to the "Victoria County History," the

next visitation by the Diocesan in 1445 revealed a better state of affairs in the monastery; the main complaint being that the relatives of Prior Downham paid him too many visits! The income at this time seems to have been £160 per annum, which was small enough to meet all the various expenses. At the next visitation it was found that the income for the three years 1479–82 was £940 2s. 8d., while the expenditure was £1,006 0s. 10½d., of which the cartulary gives numerous details; but in 1520 it had again dropped to about £260 per annum. There also appears to have been the tendency for the prior to concentrate offices in his own hands and transact business without much consultation with the canons. Certainly few officials of the monastery are mentioned beyond the prior. The sub-prior is referred to once or twice only, and it will be remembered that when Prior Dodeford was in prison it was his steward who acted for him; and no doubt the concentration of power in one pair of hands put a premium upon dishonesty, especially when the hands were those of men like Nicolas de Hungerford or John de Dodeford. Towards the end of its time the monastery came little before the public. In 1509 a pardon is granted to William Chedyll the prior and to the convent, but no explanation is given. Four years later Chedyll dies and John Burton, all unwittingly the last prior, enters upon his office. Down to the very end the king is found squeezing the monastery, for as in old days it was the old servant who was pensioned off upon the canons, so now a young student, Reginald Pole, was to be maintained and later on to be presented to a

benefice in the gift of the Priory and a " competent " one at that !

But all these little troubles will shortly be ended in a greater catastrophe which is presaged by the name of Thomas Wolsey, now daily sounding louder and louder in men's ears. Before the final blow falls, however, we learn from the Rev. H. E. Salter's edition of " A Subsidy in the Diocese of Lincoln " how clearly Wolsey was a real statesman and a good man of business. Hitherto these subsidies, granted nominally as a favour by Convocation to the king, had been computed upon certain valuations which in time had come to be fixed at £20,000. Wolsey, however, realizing the unsatisfactory character of this arrangement, had a new valuation made in 1523 and produced a scheme which allowed for a graduation of the tax so that it should fall more fairly upon its victims. Such an idea was hitherto a thing unheard of, and Professor Brewer is quoted as saying that this was " the first attempt at taxation on a scientific and impartial basis." In the case of St. Frideswide's the total gross income was found to be £204 7s. 11d., made up of spiritualities £61 12s. 4d. and temporalities £142 15s. 7d. The payments out, that is those considered as it were official, were then ascertained, e.g. £25 1s. 7½d. by way of pensions, procurations (cash commutation for liability to entertain bishop or archdeacon during visitations), synodals (annual payments to the bishop), augmentations of vicars' stipends and payment of curates ; £16 for repairs and £14 10s. for fees and corrodies. Deducting the sum total of these " overhead charges " from the gross income

we get the net sum of £148 16s. 3½d. upon which Wolsey levied the tenth. From this same subsidy we also learn that it was the habit to make arrangements, at any rate in the county of Oxford, for pensions to be paid to incumbents who had resigned their benefices from ill health or old age.

Now at length the time has come when the monastery of St. Frideswide shall cease to be. For some time past Wolsey, like many others, had no doubt seen that many at least of the smaller monasteries no longer fulfilled their purpose. It is true that modern research has proved many of the accusations levied against the religious houses to have been exaggerated, but it cannot be denied that bad cases were to be found and it must be confessed that, in the past at any rate, the record of St. Frideswide's had been none too clean. Wolsey realized that the day had come which brought a cry for education rather than superstition, and thus he dreamed of a college at Oxford and a school at his native town of Ipswich which, with his usual grandeur of conception, were to "eternize his name to posterity," and were to surpass any such institutions hitherto known. For this purpose he obtained permission to suppress in the first place some twenty of the smaller monasteries and two nunneries, and so, in 1524, there issued a bull from the Pope which put an end to the Priory of St. Frideswide. That its suppression apparently roused no resentment among the town or country folk goes to show that popular feeling was in accord with Wolsey; but, as Fuller points out, "His proceedings made all the forest of religious foundations in England to shake, justly fearing

the king would finish to fell the oaks seeing the cardinal began to cut the underwood." From this quarter there naturally came some complaint which caused Henry to write to Wolsey, saying, " As touching the help of religious houses to the building of your College I would it were more, so it be lawfully ; for my intent is none but that it should so appear to all the world and the occasion of all their mumbling might be secluded and put away ; for surely there is great murmuring at it throughout all the realm, both good and bad. They say not that all that is ill gotten is bestowed on the College, but that the College is the cloke for covering all mischiefs. This grieveth me I assure you, to hear it spoken of him which I so entirely love." The next year Henry VIII granted the site of the Priory and its lands to the cardinal whereon he might build his " Cardinall College." The aims of this College were comprehensive, including as they did the study of science, divinity, canon and civil law, the arts, physic and polite literature, together with a regular performance of divine service. The constitution of the College was to be that of a dean, a sub-dean, and a hundred canons who were to be called the " Dean and Canons Secular of the Cardinal of York," with various other officials. With his customary energy Wolsey forthwith started his building operations. It has already been shown that he cut off the three western bays of the church in order that his intended quadrangle should be square with the street, and the fact that he built his canons' lodgings straight across the end shows that he did not intend ultimately to use the church as the College chapel. His work

started in the south-east corner with the hall and kitchen and although, as Dr. Wells has pointed out, Wolsey was but following the good Oxford tradition that the body should be equally well cared for with the mind, this commencement led to the oft-quoted little ribaldry of Ralph Gualter, "A marvellous work! Your Cardinal a college planned and built an eating house!" There is no need to follow out the course of the work which had practically nothing to do with the Cathedral, and it will therefore be sufficient to quote Tanner, MS. 338, "Paid to Mr. Davy Griffits priest for his stipend for wages as well for keeping of ye monastery of St. Frideswide and saying of divine service after the suppression of ye same unto the first stalling of ye Deane and Canons in the said College as for his labours in overseeing of workmen dayly labouring there in all by the space of thirteen months. vijli." This payment seems to have been made in 1528. In the same year the properties of about twenty more suppressed monasteries were absorbed by his foundation and then in the following year the crash came and Wolsey fell. To the end of his life the sometime favourite's sole anxiety was for the preservation of his cherished College, and this the king arranged by a characteristic refounding of the same in his own name in July, 1532, under the title of "King Henry the Eighth is College," with a dean and twelve canons. Such a procedure is quite to be expected from one who professed to be interested in books and education, as witness his remarks to a greedy courtier quoted by Isaac D'Israeli: "Ha! Sirrah! I perceive the abbey lands have fleshed you and set your teeth on

edge to ask also those colleges. We pulled down sin by defacing the monasteries, but you desire to throw down all goodness by subversion of colleges. I tell you, sir, that I judge no land in England better bestowed than on our universities, which shall maintain our realm when we be dead and rotten." Such changes, however, meant confusion, and the successors to the monastery found themselves, like their predecessors, equally stricken by the chronic disease of poverty and had to appeal to Thomas Cromwell for help. In 1535 they returned a net annual income of £222 5s. 9d. for Henry VIII's "Valor Ecclesiasticus," which he had taken because he intended to appropriate to the Crown all the first fruits and tenths. For some thirteen years the king's foundation lasted on until the final alteration was made which permanently bound the church and College together in their strange combination. Meanwhile an event of the utmost importance had taken place but a mile or so away. It will be remembered that, with some at least of the properties of the plundered monasteries, Henry proposed to found a certain number of bishoprics. So enormous a Diocese as that of Lincoln clearly required sub-division, and it would be natural to form a new Diocese out of the southern and most remote portion. When, therefore, the famous Abbey of Oseney (formerly on the site of the cemetery near the station) with its magnificent church was suppressed, it was decided to place there the seat of the proposed new bishopric of Oxford. In 1542 the same was created and named the "Cathedral Church of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary," with Robert King as the

Photograph] [*H. Taunt*

VIEW FROM MERTON COLLEGE

first Bishop of Oxford (not "of Oseney" as some have called him), John London the first dean, and six canons besides. In 1546 the final change above referred to was made. For were not the royal expenses very heavy and, too, were there not many courtiers clamouring for a share of the spoil? How then was economy to be effected without altering existing arrangements? The answer to this was the further question, why not combine Cathedral with College and let one staff serve the double purpose? To bring this about it was necessary to start with the slate clean, and so in 1545 Bishop King and Dean Coxe solemnly surrendered the See and Cathedral church into the king's hands. In May of the same year John Oliver, the dean of the College, went through the same formality in respect of the king's foundation and thus the way was clear for the new scheme. The next year the bishopric was refounded in the county town with a church now to be called the "Cathedral Church of Christ in Oxford," with a bishop, a dean, and eight prebendaries or canons in residence upon the site of the ancient Priory of St. Frideswide. The bishop was still John King, the dean was still Richard Coxe, who had been the second dean at Oseney and was now quaintly described as the "first and original" dean, as indeed he was, of the latest foundation. This involved the displacement of John Oliver who was pensioned off with £70 per annum. To the bishop the king wrote, in respect of the former's surrender of the Cathedral and his jurisdiction as Diocesan, that he "not minding therby to abolish or abridge your jurisdiction in any parte grauntede

by us to you and your successours in the first erectyon of your bishoppericke ther have gyven and graunted " the right to exercise all the usual jurisdiction within the Diocese except in the case of the Cathedral itself. The king, however, withheld from the bishop the former episcopal residence of Gloucester College. To the dean and canons, as a body corporate, were given " the scite of the late Colledge at St. Frideswids, . . . a Colledge called Canterburye Colledge, . . . the circuite of Vine Halle otherwise called the Peckewaterers Inne," and many other properties, together with all the ornaments, plate, stone, timber, iron, bells, lead, etc., from the late Cathedral Church of Oseney and College of St. Frideswide's. In addition to the dean and canons there were to be eight chaplains and one hundred scholars, forty of whom were to come from Westminster School, while the dean had authority to grant to the remaining sixty within the said church ; and in order to make a good start there came a royal command to the Commissary (i.e. the Vice-Chancellor) and University of Oxford to permit the dean and sub-dean " of your Cathedral there presently to choose " from each of the colleges one or two scholars " for the furniture(!) of the said church." In view of all he was doing the king felt perhaps that Oxford was now becoming a more important place and he therefore at the same time raised the town to the dignity of a city.

It has been mentioned that as, when setting up his college, Wolsey staffed it very largely with Lutherans from Cambridge, thereby giving it a strong heretical tinge, so also later on Cranmer, in

1548, introduced a further revolutionary element in the person of the foreigner Peter Martyr. This man, who was brought in with the object of spreading the doctrines of the Reformation, was made Regius Professor of Divinity on his arrival, and became a canon about two years later. His connexion with Christ Church is remembered chiefly on account of his wife and her burial in 1551 in the Cathedral, but that is another story to be related further on. With the accession of Queen Mary, Dean Coxe discreetly retired beyond the seas to Frankfurt and Richard Marshall took his place, only to be in his turn deprived, under Elizabeth, for his religion which unkind people said, "he had two or three times changed." During his term of office the Cathedral saw a pitiful sight, for, in the chancel, Bishop Bonner degraded Cranmer, then led him out into the cloisters or some place near by and, with a mock ceremony, struck out his orders.

With the coming of Elizabeth to the throne the bishopric to all intents and purposes ceased to exist. During her long reign of forty-six years the See was deliberately kept vacant for forty-one "out of pure devotion to the leases," in other words solely in order that the revenues might fall in to the Crown. Indeed it was only due to Sir Thomas Walsingham pointing out that the said leases had to be renewed and for which handsome fines could be extorted that the queen was induced to make any appointments at all; and it is not surprising to find in consequence that by the end of her reign the Diocese was seriously impoverished and scandalously neglected. These manipulations did not affect the Dean and

Chapter, who had an annual revenue of £2,000 set apart for their maintenance, and whose offices could not well be left vacant. Of incidents directly connected with the Cathedral there are few at this time, except the record by Mr. Marshall of the hanging of one George Napper, a Roman Catholic, and the placing of his head upon the Cathedral steeple. Writing of deaths and grisly happenings reminds us of the queer story of Catherine, Peter Martyr's wife. As already mentioned, she died in 1551 and, as the wife of a canon, was buried in the Cathedral. Before her marriage she had been a professed nun, and Strype describes her as being rather corpulent in figure and of a reserved character, but liberal to the poor, patient, and of excellent arts and qualities; and, if the testimony of a Dr. George Abbot be true, she delighted in the cutting of plum-stones into curious faces as a pastime. On the accession of Queen Mary the repudiation of her vows by Catherine was not forgotten. Even as Henry VIII childishly called to trial the long dead Thomas of Canterbury, so also was Catherine accused and convicted of heresy and her corpse ordered to be disinterred and cast out of the sacred building. In 1561, however, the public conscience revolted against this indecent treatment of one who, whatever may have been her shortcomings, had at least been allowed to die in peace. It was therefore decided to rescue and re-inter in the Cathedral the remains of Catherine.

This duty fell upon the sub-dean, John Calfhill, who gives us an account of the whole matter. The shrine of St. Frideswide had of course long gone—destroyed about 1548—and the bones of the saint re-buried in

some unknown and secret spot. Now, strange to relate, Calfhill tells us (in Latin) that, "while by reason of my office I was busily engaged in preparing what seemed fitting to make a worthy burial I found by great good fortune in a most hidden place in the Cathedral some dark coloured (*subfusca*) bones carefully covered up and undamaged in two silken bags (*binis manticis sericis*)." These, it was concluded, were in all probability the remains of St. Frideswide. Thereupon it was decided that the reinterment of Catherine should be accompanied by that also of the saint, and that the bones of the two women should be mingled together in order that the identity of both might be obliterated. Whether this was done merely in a fit of grim humour or with the idea of guarding against any excuse for future violation it is difficult to say. In those troubled days it was dangerous to show one's real religious opinions, for none knew but what the pendulum might swing again to one extreme or the other and therefore a true English compromise may have seemed the safest course to pursue. The incident called forth several epitaphs, Calfhill himself contributing two, of one of which the last and somewhat ambiguous line, *Nunc coeunt pietas atque superstitio* (now come together piety and superstition), is well known.

The Cathedral has also an association with the last of Queen Elizabeth's visits in 1592 to Oxford. Her entrance into the city was greeted with the usual speeches of welcome, after which she reached Christ Church and forthwith went into the Cathedral, under a canopy supported by four doctors, there to hear a Te Deum sung as a thanksgiving for

her arrival. In 1605 the Cathedral again received a royal visit, when James I went one better than his predecessor and was escorted up to the altar under a purple canopy held by six Doctors of Divinity! A little later there came a dean and bishop in Richard Corbet who, even if his ways were irritating to his over-sober contemporaries, earns our gratitude by his wit. The son of a nurseryman at Twickenham, Corbet, partly by his ability and partly by having as patron George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, ultimately found himself in 1620 Dean of Christ Church. Prior to this he had married a daughter of Leonard Hutten, the antiquary and a fellow canon, and had come into trouble through the ill will of Dr. Robert Abbott, the brother of the archbishop, for being of the same way of thinking as Laud in matters ecclesiastical. Probably, too, his humour, his love of repartee and poking fun did not commend itself to those of his neighbours who were of a puritanical turn of mind. As Fuller says, " He was of a courteous carriage and no destructive nature to any who offended him, counting himself plentifully repaired with a jest upon him " ; yet no shaft can be more exasperatingly barbed than a merciless retort, and for once the biter was bit when King James gave him a ring in token of his favour, about which Corbet was for long afterwards teased.

The Reverend Dean,
With his band starched clean,
Did preach before the king.
A ring was his pride
To his bandstrings tied,
Was not this a pretty thing?

The ring without doubt
Was the thing put him out
And made him forget what was next;
For every one there
Will say, I dare swear,
He handled it more than his text!

He had a considerable turn for verse whether as epigram or as something more serious, but we will content ourselves with quoting a specimen of the former which he wrote in connexion with some rather poor plays acted before the king when on a visit to Oxford:

At Christ Church, "Marriage" done before the king,
Lest that those mates should want an offering
The king himself did offer—what I pray?
He offered twice or thrice to go away!

Corbet afterwards became bishop, but did not stay long at Oxford, being translated in 1632 "to a more active See, that of Norwich," whither we need not follow him. He was succeeded here by John Bancroft who in various ways was a great benefactor to the See. Laud in his diary under September, 1635, refers to Bancroft having built a palace for the bishops at Cuddesdon, at his (Laud's) persuasion, costing £3,500 which unfortunately, for strategic reasons, had to be destroyed during the Civil War by Colonel Legge, who, as Governor of Oxford, feared that it might be used as a base by the Parliamentarians. Bancroft, partly perhaps by virtue of the fact that he was nephew to Laud and partly because he had brought about some much-needed reforms in the neglected churches of his Diocese, was objectionable to the Puritans, who stigmatized him in the usual

piled up invective of that day as a " corrupt, unpreaching, popish prelate." The knowledge that he was disliked and in the way to be hardly used by his opponents should they come into power may perhaps have led him just before the Long Parliament met to poison himself as was generally thought at the time. In 1636 King Charles I and his queen paid a visit to Oxford, which must have provided them with very pleasant memories in after years, even as also it has done for those privileged to see that most charming of scenes in the well-known Oxford Pageant. Laud tells us that on their arrival the king went " with all the lords to the Cathedral. There after his private devotions ended, at the west door Dr. Morris, one of the prebendaries, entertained him with another short speech which was well liked, and thence his Majesty proceeded into the quire and heard service. . . . The next day being Tuesday the king came to service soon after eight in the morning ; it was at Christ Church and Mr. Thomas Brown being then proctor made an excellent sermon, which gave great content." Six years later the Civil War broke out and Oxford became the king's headquarters and what Sir J. A. R. Marriott has called a " relief capital " to London. The king's appearances in the Cathedral must have been frequent, and he must always have associated with that building the few moments of peace and quiet which he was able to snatch at intervals from amongst all the cares and anxieties of his varying fortunes. The religion to which he held so strongly was clearly dependent on the outcome of the war, or at least of his own action on its behalf. It is

therefore interesting to find in Mr. Madan's list of Oxford Books (Nos. 1408 and 1995) that he gives notes of a folio broadside entitled " His Majesty's Late Protestation," printed in London in 1643, which purports to be a declaration made one morning by the king, most probably in the Cathedral, just before receiving the Sacrament from Archbishop Usher. Perhaps Charles felt that, for the assurance of his followers and to make his position clear, it would be advisable to publish a definite pronouncement as to his religious beliefs, and in this tract therefore he lays down very solemnly his complete adherence to the form of religion—developed under Elizabeth. As Mr. Madan points out, the incident is no doubt possible but he considers the language of this " protestation " unlikely, and we must therefore be chary of accepting this as certainly coming from the king without also considering the possibility of its having been compiled by some of the royal supporters for the same object. A different and more authentic document, and one which has a curious history, is to be found in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral. This is dated April 13, 1646, and is a vow, written by the king, in which he promises that, if he be restored to the throne, he will give back to the Church all her lands then held by the Crown, and suggests that they shall then be held of the Church by the Crown at reasonable rents. This writing he then gave to Gilbert Sheldon, his chaplain, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who buried it safely for thirteen years and produced it later on after the Restoration. But it was all in vain. Providence decreed that when Charles passed

over Magdalen Bridge in 1646 disguised as a servant, he passed over for the last time, and that in the same year his much loved city should be honourably but finally surrendered to the enemy.

With the appearance of the visitors appointed by Cromwell the troubles of the Cathedral and College began. This meant that Dean Samuel Fell, a very strong loyalist, was expelled, and so much did he feel the reversal of his monarch's fortunes that he is said to have died of a broken heart. His wife, like-minded with her husband, absolutely refused to leave the deanery. We are told that the soldiery tried to weary her out " with noise, rudeness, and smell of tobacco," but failing in this way they ended by carrying her out bodily in a chair into the quadrangle ! Into Fell's post there was then intruded Edward Reynolds, one of the visitors and a Presbyterian. He in turn got into trouble in 1650 for refusing to subscribe to the Independent " Engagement " and was turned out for nine years, his place being taken by the learned John Owen, much favoured of Cromwell. The " Engagement " just referred to was an oath administered to all members of the University to be faithful to the Commonwealth of England " as the same is now established without king or House of Lords." None but extremists were prepared to go as far as this, and the result was that many, like Reynolds, refused to take the oath and were expelled. These visitors or commissioners were naturally a fine butt for the scholars' shafts of wit. Many lampoons appeared, of which some exposed the " dulmanity " of the intruders in the matter of literary attainments and their

" immanity " in the matter of property and personal liberty ! Nor were the victims of these pleasantries slow to defend themselves, although it must be confessed that their idea of repartee, for example in describing the colleges as " cages of unclean birds," was somewhat crude by comparison with that of their tormentors. Robert Skinner, then Bishop of Oxford, likewise passed through sundry vicissitudes. A strong loyalist, he was one of those impeached for high treason in making a formal protest against the suggestion that the bishops should be excluded from Parliament, which he said would invalidate all legislation. He was ultimately set free after eighteen weeks in the Tower and went to live quietly at his rectory of Launton, a few miles out of Oxford. Being a conscientious man he endeavoured to carry out his duties as bishop in so far as he could, and this he did mainly in the way of confirmations and ordinations. In spite of prohibition he secretly ordained, according to his own account, some three or four hundred priests, and exacted in every case the strict oath of allegiance to the king. In Mr. Marshall's opinion he was probably almost the only bishop to have run the risk in this way. Not only so, but at the Restoration he was called upon to ordain one hundred and three persons on one day in Westminster Abbey, a fact which moved Ant. à Wood to say of him after his death that " he had sent more labourers into the vineyard than all the brethren he had left behind him had done."

And now with the passing of the recent unhappy strife there comes upon the scene, as dean, John, son of Samuel Fell, of whom Tom Browne was so

soon to write, " I do not like thee, Dr. Fell ; the reason why I cannot tell ; but this I know full rarely well, I do not like thee, Dr. Fell." Partaking of his mother's brave spirit, he proved himself a man of strong will and a good disciplinarian with the result that he was not universally popular ; but it is by such men that history is made and both College and University owe him a tremendous debt. Almost a second founder of the College in respect of his building work, he also rebuilt the bishop's palace at Cuddesdon and almost revolutionized the University Press, leaving it at his death some twenty beautiful founts of type which are frequently used to-day. In 1663 he entertained the king and queen at Christ Church on their visit to Oxford, and the former took the opportunity of " touching " for the " king's evil " in the quire of the Cathedral. With all his multifarious secular interests Fell, nevertheless, did not forget the meaning and obligations of his orders. In 1675 he was made Bishop of Oxford and allowed to hold the deanery *in commendam*. The Rev. H. L. Thompson tells us that he translated the Gospels and Acts into Malay, and tried to impress upon the East India Company the duty which rested upon them of forwarding missionary work among the heathen with whom they dealt. The one blemish on his reputation was his weakness in bowing to the royal command for the expulsion, in 1684, of John Locke from his studentship. In 1686 this energetic virile man died, leaving behind him a reputation surpassed by few among the many well-known holders of his two offices. His successor at the deanery, John Massey, who received James II

during a short visit when the king "touched" upwards of seven hundred persons in the Cathedral, held office for little more than a year. He is not uncommonly omitted from official lists for he owed his appointment solely to the fact that he deliberately turned Roman Catholic in order to obtain it; and the same justice might well be meted out to Timothy Hall, who received the bishopric as a reward for being one of only four clergymen in London who obeyed the command to read the Declaration of Indulgence. Hall in other ways fared worse than Massey, for the dean and canons flatly refused to instal him and no graduates would consent to be ordained by him. But with the passing of James passed also his servile adherents and the letters patent of Henry Aldrich make no reference whatever to Massey but treat Aldrich as succeeding directly to John Fell. Again the Cathedral and College found themselves governed by a man of many parts. An accomplished musician and composer, a competent amateur architect—for who shall say that Peckwater Quadrangle and the tower of All Saints' Church are unworthy specimens of his talent?—the compiler of a manual of logic so good as to have remained a standard work until very recent times, this many-sided man was withal humble and modest to a fault. An inveterate smoker, he once lost his bet for an undergraduate who had guaranteed that he would find the dean smoking at a certain early hour, because, as Aldrich blandly pointed out, the dean at that moment was only filling his pipe! He loved to take refuge in his study where, no doubt, in company with some kindred spirit, he one day

delivered himself of those five excellent reasons for drinking, which would hardly commend themselves to a modern Prohibitionist!

> If all be true that I do think,
> There are five reasons we should drink;
> Good wine; a friend; or being dry;
> Or lest we should be by and by;
> Or any other reason why.

Aldrich's successor was Francis Atterbury, a fine scholar if of unpleasant temper, who was afterwards the unfortunate Bishop of Rochester. He, as it were, ushered in the eighteenth century, so often stigmatized for torpor and apathy which, as Mr. A. D. Godley has pointed out, were in the case of Oxford due in a very large degree to her sufferings in the Civil War. Yet the century is not without its interest and many names that are well known. Dean Smalridge, who used to say that where Atterbury, his predecessor, went about setting things on fire he used to follow with a bucket of water, was the only other dean besides John Fell who has held that post *in commendam* with a bishopric, although in his case it was that of Bristol and not Oxford. From his time onwards Christ Church became very Whig in its political sympathies, for care was taken by the Court to ensure that every new dean was of the right persuasion. But underlings were not necessarily of the same political bias, and so the story goes that in 1727, on the occasion of the king's birthday, a malicious gentleman, one "Mr. Jonathan Colley, being chaunter of Christ Church, set a penitential anthem which enraged the dean, Dr. Bradshaw, to that degree that after service he sent for

and reprimanded him." The next year saw John and Charles Wesley, William Morgan, and Robert Kirkham earning for themselves the name of "Methodists," and starting that world-wide movement which is so intimately associated with their names. Brought into being as the result of the prevailing slackness in religious observance, it is interesting to find that here at any rate the Church was a little more alive and certainly more sympathetic. Mr. Marshall shows that Bishop John Potter dealt wisely with these earnest and genuine men. "They are irregular," he said, "but they have done good and I pray God to bless them," was the attitude of mind with which he met them and their visits to the Bocardo prison, and had it been thus everywhere else, how different might things have been to-day! The Cathedral also played its part towards them, for we have it on the testimony of George Whitefield that, after he had made their acquaintance and been instructed by the Wesleys "Like them, having no weekly Sacrament (although the rubrick required it) at our own College" (i.e. Pembroke), "I received every Sunday at Christ Church." At the same time, all through the century the Cathedral was looked on less as Cathedral than as College chapel, and the Diocesan received little welcome on his visits. Indeed matters became at length so bad that in 1783 Bishop Butler was actually refused the use of the Chapter House for the purpose of giving the charge to his ordinands. Twenty years later Christ Church was again favoured with a famous dean in Cyril Jackson, of whom it was said that "in him were recalled the days of John Fell and

Aldrich," for he was certainly endowed with the commanding personality of the former as well as with the scholarship of the latter. His interests, too, centred in the College, and, although he exerted a considerable influence outside as well, he was content that it should be done from the deanery. It is well known that, as a man of mark, he received and refused many offers of preferment, both bishoprics and even primacies, and that he was frequently consulted by Lord Liverpool upon ecclesiastical appointments; so that it was said of him that "he was much more than a bishop for that he was a bishop maker." His fine face is well portrayed in Chantrey's sitting figure now in the hall of the library.

Of bishops, the all too short rule of Charles Lloyd was a grievous loss to the See. As a canon and lecturer he showed himself not only a brilliant scholar, but a most popular teacher beloved of his pupils, and as a bishop "he would have been a great force in the Church of England had he lived." The late Dr. Wickham Legge once drew attention to the importance of Dr. Lloyd's work as Regius Professor of Divinity, seeing therein, as he said, the "starting point of the English school of liturgy which, although it may seem to have lost something of its force under the frowns of the authorities of to-day, has yet done work which is the envy of continental scholars." His successor, the Hon. Richard Bagot, was described by Newman as a man "of noble mind and as kind hearted as he was noble." In his day came the difficulties in connexion with the Tractarian movement with which, nevertheless, he was to a certain extent sympathetic.

For although on the one hand he was instrumental in stopping the publication of the "Tracts for the Times," still, on the other, he showed himself a good churchman by his revival of the observance of Ascension Day, Lent, and Passion Week, seasons which had for so long been neglected. He is well known, too, for his general Diocesan work, the restoration of the office of rural dean, the reorganization of the board of education, training colleges, and inspectorships of schools. To this work there were added to the Diocese by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1836 the county of Berks and a part of Wiltshire. The next year the Commissioners suggested adding the county of Buckingham as well, but to this the bishop refused to agree on the ground that it would make the Diocese too unwieldly, and the Commissioners had therefore to wait until the See became vacant before carrying out their idea. Now, to-day, Bagot's words have long been proved to be true, and questions of sub-division of the Diocese are becoming insistent. One interesting result of the addition of Berkshire is that St. George's Chapel, Windsor, is now in the diocese of Oxford, and as it is the private chapel of the Knights of the Order of the Garter, it carries with it the Chancellorship of the Order. Hitherto this office had been held by the Bishop of Salisbury, but the transference of the chapel involved also that of the office which is accordingly now filled by the Bishop of Oxford.

And now we come to yet one more building and restoring dean, Henry George Liddell, in whose time momentous changes took place both in Cathedral

and University. As a result of the University Commission in 1863 two canonries were abolished, leaving five stalls attached to the professorships and one to the archdeacon of Oxford. An annual sum was ordered to be set aside as a fund from which to provide the incomes of the Chapter and for the upkeep of the Cathedral. At the same time the Cathedral was still to be the College chapel and thus matters stand at the present day. Of the dean's buildings and of the restoration both of Cathedral and services mention has already been made. One change, however, he brought about which, as told us by the Rev. H. L. Thompson, is worthy of inclusion here as showing for how long and to what an extent neglect of the Cathedral had been allowed to go. Will it be believed that, even so late as the middle of the impeccable nineteenth century, the verger who lived in the south transept was allowed, for want of space elsewhere, to keep his store of beer in a cupboard beneath the pew wherein the ladies from the deanery were accustomed to sit! The beer was removed! During the earlier part of the dean's long tenure of office, his bishop was the well-known Samuel Wilberforce, yet another energetic organizer. His work for the Diocese was of very great value, for he promoted much building and repairing of churches, and founded both the Diocesan Society and also the Theological College at Cuddesdon. Of so famous a character it is hardly necessary to speak at length here, but it may be noted that he has been mentioned in a book of reminiscences, published not so very long ago, as having had, by virtue of being Bishop of Oxford,

the privilege of coining money. This idea arose from the fact that he often used to give out small silver pennies and two-pences, but, when it is remembered that he was Lord High Almoner to the queen from 1847–69, it will be realized that so impossible a privilege resolves itself into nothing more than the giving away of odd pieces of Maundy money. Many stories have been told about him, but it will be sufficient to quote here a rather amusing epigram by Dr. Mansel, the witty Dean of St. Paul's, upon Wilberforce and Archdeacon Clerke, during the election of 1865, when Gladstone stood for Oxford and, though vigorously supported by the bishop, was nevertheless beaten by Mr. Gathorne Hardy, afterwards Lord Cranbrook.

When the versatile Bishop of Oxford's famed city
Saw the name of the chairman of Hardy's committee,
Said Samuel (from Samson a metaphor taken),
" They plough with my heifer, that is, my archdeacon !

* * *

But, when Samuel himself leaves his friends in the lurch
To vote with the foes of the State and the Church,
We see with regret, and the spectacle shocks one,
That Dissenters can plough with Episcopal Oxon !

We have now reached quite modern days when the pen of the chronicler had best cease to write. Suffice it to say that the remaining names upon the lists of bishops and deans, to say nothing of such well-known canons as the late Henry Scott Holland, are a sure guarantee that Cathedral and See have won through to a position very different from that of earlier times.

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PLAN OF THE CATHEDRAL IN 1924

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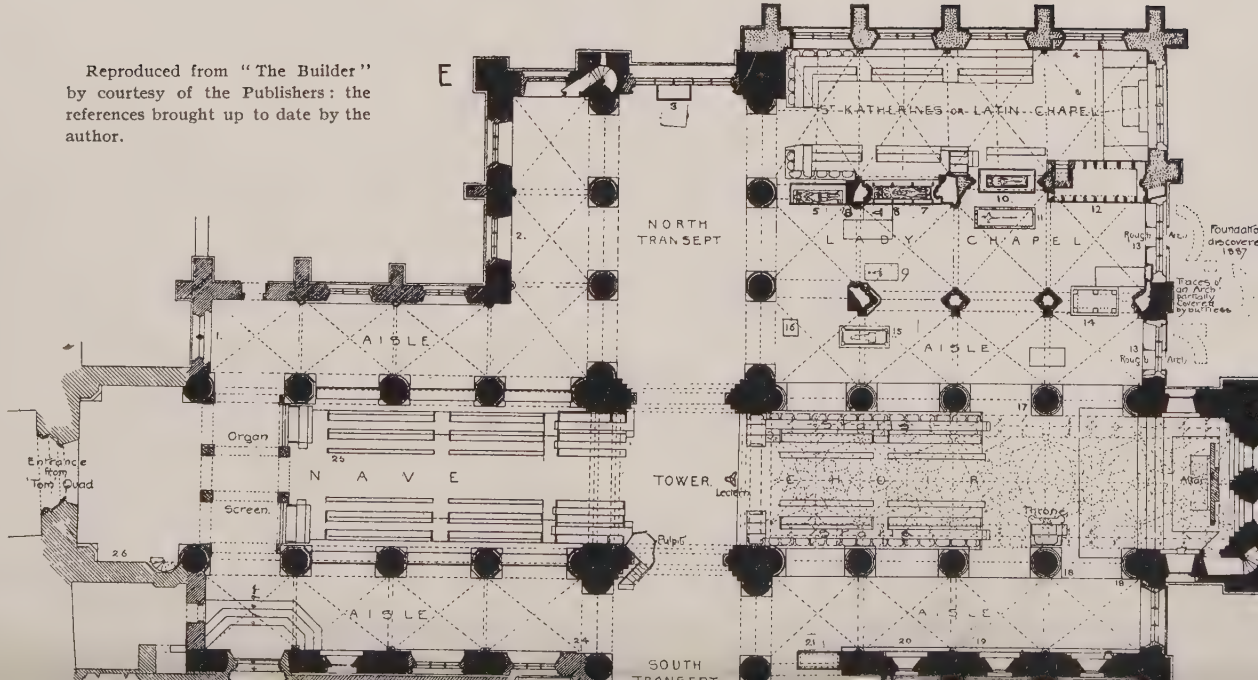

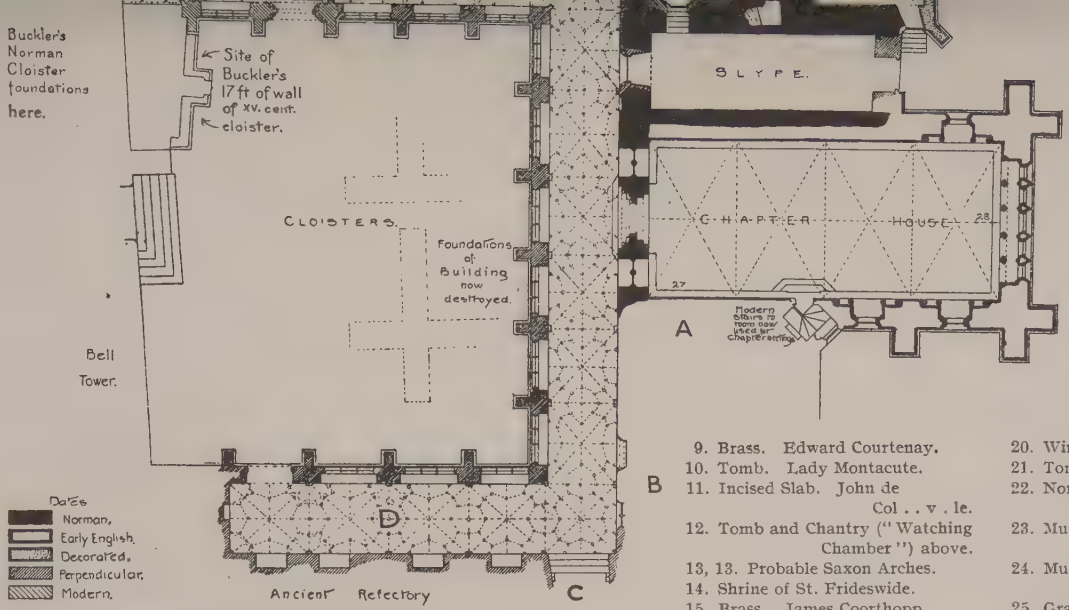

A. Dr. Tresham's addition.

B. Prior's House, formerly Canons' Dormitory.

C. Cloister Passage Windows.

D. Allestree Library over South Cloister Alley.

E. Figure of St. Frideswide (exterior).

MONUMENTS, ETC.

1. The "Jonah" Window.
2. Brass. Leonard Hutten.
3. Tomb. James Zouche.
4. Recess in wall.
5. Tomb. Sir George Nowers.
6. Mural Monument. R. Burton.
7. Tomb. ? Prior Alex. de Sutton.
8. Brass. John ffitzaleyne.
9. Brass. Edward Courtenay.
10. Tomb. Lady Montacute.
11. Incised Slab. John de Col . . v . le.
12. Tomb and Chantry ("Watching Chamber") above.
13, 13. Probable Saxon Arches.
14. Shrine of St. Frideswide.
15. Brass. James Coorthopp.
16. Brass. Thomas Palmer.
17. College Roll of Honour.
18, 18. Remains of Paintings on Pillars.
19 Mural Tablet. Sarah Acland
20. Window. Bishop King.
21. Tomb. Bishop King.
22. Norman doorway (External only).
23. Mural Tablet. Ric. Gardiner (over door).
24. Mural Monument. Edward Pocock.
25. Gravestone. Dr. Pusey.
26. Monument. John Fell.
27. Incised Slab. Countess of Warwick.
28. Foundation Stone. Ipswich College.

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* denotes an illustration in text

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OXFORD CATHEDRAL

THE following very brief description of the main features in connexion with the Cathedral is meant for those whose visit is but for a day or for so short a time that a careful study of the building and its history is impossible. If, however, visitors will detach this section, see what is here set down, and afterwards read at their leisure the longer account in the main body of this book, they should be able to keep in their memory a very fair idea of this most interesting little Cathedral. The references are to the pages of the book proper, where fuller details will be found.

It has been given to few Cathedrals, except perhaps Gloucester and Chester, to start from so humble a beginning as the church of a tiny and obscure nunnery, and to none other to reach to so curious a position as to be simultaneously the Cathedral of a See and the chapel of a College in an University. Owing its beginning to the desire of a woman for seclusion (p. 4), made famous by the unreasoning importunity of a lover, bandied to and fro between secular and regular canons, a strangely unimportant priory in a most important town, the early history of this spot hardly foreshadowed its subsequent rise to fame. Nor, with the exception of perhaps Durham and in a slightly different way Canterbury, is there any other Cathedral through whose doors passes so continually that never-ending stream of Youth which makes an old University and its buildings for ever young. Not but what the founding of the College for the education of the self-same Youth came near to ending the present cathedral church, for there is not much doubt but that Wolsey would have levelled it to the ground had he been allowed to carry out all that was in his mind. Thus, although to the Cardinal Oxford Cathedral owes its unique position, it is to Henry VIII that its preservation is really due, albeit the motives impelling that king might hardly be called of the highest. Be that as it may, however, the fact remains that from the middle of the sixteenth century this ancient church sprang at once from its long obscurity to the distinction which it to-day possesses.

To neither of the above-mentioned men does the Cathedral owe anything in respect of its architecture except the unlikely possibility that the Cardinal put in the vault of the quire.

What he most certainly did was to mutilate the nave by cutting off the three westernmost bays. The main part of the building, viz. quire and aisles, transepts with aisles (a rare feature), nave and aisles, and lower stage of the tower, all date more or less towards the end of the twelfth century, with the Chapter House door a trifle earlier. The remaining periods are represented as follows :

c.1200–50	Lady Chapel (north of quire aisle) instead of at east end, because the city wall came too close to allow room, and upper stage of tower with spire (an early example), and the Chapter House (one of the finest of its date).
c.1320–50	Latin Chapel (north of Lady Chapel) and St. Lucy's Chapel, leading out of the south transept.
c.1450–1500	Windows of Quire Clerestory and probably the vaulting ; the cloisters.
c.1500–1520	Window and decoration of end in north transept.
1870	East end (greater part), westernmost bay of nave and vaulting of the northern and part of the eastern alleys of the cloisters by Sir G. G. Scott.

For plan of the Cathedral as it is to-day see at end of book.

The monastic buildings lay to the southward, between the Cathedral and the city wall, of which the matter no longer exists at this point, but ends in a bastion close by the east end of the former. The gabled houses on the east wall of the cloisters mark the sometime canons' dormitory with the later house of the priors, and on the south side stands the former refectory, now used as rooms for undergraduates. Beyond this there is practically nothing left.

There is no fee charged for going round the Cathedral.

Points of especial interest to note are as follows :

EXTERIOR

East End, good general view from Merton Meadows.

Entering beneath Tom Tower the Cathedral, except for the spire, is invisible. Passing through at the south-east corner of the quadrangle, and leaving on the right the staircase to the Hall, with central pillar and vaulting built in 1640, we reach the

Cloisters (p. 37). Note Chapter House door in the east wall and the bosses in the vaulting of the east and south alleys. From here there is a good view of the

Tower and Spire (p. 32), which are most interesting examples.

North side (p. 137), from a window in the Library.

INTERIOR

Standing at the west end of the nave, note the curious

METHOD OF BUILDING (p. 23). The heavy piers do not, as is usually the case, carry the main arches supporting the triforium, but rise direct one stage higher to carry the clerestory. The triforium, which is here blind, is borne by sub-arches springing from half-capitals in the sides of the main columns. One effect of this is to give an appearance of height to a church which in fact is otherwise rather low.

This peculiarity is unique among Cathedrals, and is only paralleled among abbeys by Jedburgh and Romsey.

Passing over to the north-west corner of the Cathedral and working round, note the

JONAH WINDOW (p. 92), with Flemish glass of wonderful detail, c.1631. While going up the aisle notice all the time the most interesting

HALF CAPITALS (p. 24), with unusual and varied carving.

NORTH TRANSEPT WINDOW (p. 99) by Clayton and Bell beneath which is the

ALTAR TOMB of John Zouch, d. 1503 (p. 47). At the north-east corner of the transept is the

LATIN CHAPEL (p. 48), containing

(*a*) Contemporary glass in the first three windows (p. 79), although most of the quarries are modern.

(*b*) East window by Burne-Jones, telling the story of St. Frideswide (p. 95).

(*c*) Wooden stalls enriched with symbols of the four Evangelists, a cardinal's hat, realistic foliage and grotesques, probably temp. Wolsey (p. 48).

(*d*) Bosses in the roof (p. 51).

Adjoining on the south is the

LADY CHAPEL (p. 52) containing

(*a*) Tomb of Sir G. Nowers in armour, a friend of the Black Prince (p. 53).

(*b*) Canopied tomb of (probably) Prior Alexander de Sutton (1294–1316), richly decorated with the ball flower ornament. On the floor close by are

(*c*) Brasses (p. 136) of John Fitzalleyne and Edward Courtenay, both dating c.1450. Beyond is the

(*d*) Altar tomb of Lady Montacute, d. 1353 (p. 56), especially notable for the figures of her eight children dressed in the fashions of the day. Adjoining is the

(*e*) So called " Watching Chamber " (p. 59), in reality the late fifteenth-century tomb of a civilian and his wife, with its chantry chapel above. At this point note the

(*f*) East wall (p. 14) of rough masonry with a rude doorway now blocked up and a similar one in the quire aisle wall a few feet away. This is now more or less generally agreed to be Saxon work, and just possibly even the last remains of Didan's eighth-century church.

North Quire Aisle. Between this and the Lady Chapel is one of the finest things in the Cathedral, viz.

(*a*) Shrine of St. Frideswide (p. 62), rescued in fragments from various places. Note how wonderfully true to nature is the carved foliage. On the floor to the west is the

(*b*) Brass of James Courthopp (p. 137), d. 1557, showing him wearing the canon's almuce or furred cape with tails. From here pass under the tower into the

Quire (p. 67), with

(*a*) Magnificent vaulting, which is one of the best examples of its kind (p. 36).

(*b*) The half capitals here of which three are of a different type (pp. 24 and 29).

South Quire Aisle (p. 69), much restored by Sir G. G. Scott. Note

(*a*) East window (St. Catherine of Alexandria) by Burne-Jones (pp. 35 and 98), towards the western end is the

(*b*) Window to Bishop King, d. 1557 (p. 93), the last abbot of Oseney and first bishop of Oxford. Glass is probably Flemish. Near by is his

(*c*) Canopied tomb of Purbeck marble (p. 72), partly in

St. Lucy's Chapel (p. 72), which is really the aisle of the transept.

(*a*) Decorated window, c.1350, with very fine contemporary

(*b*) Glass (p. 83) depicting SS. Martin, Cuthbert, Blaize, and Augustine of Hippo, together with the murder of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. A piece of white glass shows where the head of the saint was removed in compliance with the orders of Henry VIII.

South Transept (p. 74). Ascend into gallery (key required) to see

(*a*) Base of preaching cross with representations of Adam and Eve, Moses and the Golden Calf, the Sacrifice of Isaac, and an unknown subject (p. 76).

(*b*) Triforium window on west side with some apparently Saxon shafts with turned bases (p. 21).

Under the Tower is the

JACOBEAN PULPIT (p. 77), and on the floor of the

NAVE (p. 78) is the grave slab of Dr. E. B. Pusey, the well-known scholar and Tractarian. From the south nave aisle a door gives on to the cloisters, which lead to the

CHAPTER HOUSE (p. 33), probably the best example of its date (thirteenth century). [The key for this must be obtained from the Head Verger at the Library in Peckwater Quadrangle.]

It is a curious legend which tells of the life and doings of St. Frideswide (the Bond of Peace), and although much is imaginary there is no reason to suppose an absence of all groundwork of fact. The founding of the nunnery for her by her father Didan, the rough affection of Algar, Prince of Leicester, which caused her to flee to Bampton, there to hide in the woods for many a day, her return to Oxford and siege of the town by the persistent Algar, his being struck with blindness at her prayer in self-defence and his subsequent cure, and her fame as a healer of diseases, all go to make up a most picturesque little story (p. 4). Her nunnery, however, did not long survive her, and with historians rather vague and contradictory in respect of the following two or three hundred years, we come at last to something definite early in the twelfth century, when Augustinian Canons were installed here in a practically rebuilt priory. It was never a house of any size, with numbers probably not exceeding twenty, and, in spite of a certain amount of royal patronage, never attained to any importance. In the fourteenth century it must, however, have had a rather unpleasant notoriety from the ill doings of two most unsatisfactory priors which led to the practical bankruptcy of the house and continual broils with the townsfolk and even the University. Small wonder that, in view of its condition and of its situation in an academic town, Wolsey seized upon it for his great scholastic foundation, which was to outshine King's College, Cambridge. Fortunately his fall did not mean the disappearance of his college, for the King refounded it under his own name, but with strict English justice it is the Cardinal's arms, badges, and statues, which appear to-day all over the College.

Turning for a moment to the diocese, it will be remembered that there was originally a See of Dorchester (a few miles away) founded in 634 by Birinus, Augustine's missionary to the West Saxons. By the twelfth century, after various vicissitudes, this diocese had become so large that the bishop's seat was moved to Lincoln. Thus it arose that when Henry VIII, in pursuance of his promise, came to create a number of new bishoprics out of some of the proceeds of the despoiled monasteries, he decided to divide up the unwieldy Diocese of Lincoln and establish the See of Oxford. This he did in 1542 and placed the Bishop's

seat in the beautiful church of Oseney Abbey, then recently suppressed, which lay near the present cemetery by the railway station. Four years later, from motives of economy, he moved Bishop King, together with the " sweetest ring of bells in all England," from Oseney to Oxford, and gave him the church of the former Priory of St. Frideswide for a cathedral. As the church was already the chapel of the King's College it found itself fulfilling a curious double function, even as it has done down to this day.

Early in the seventeenth century the Cathedral was " much abused " by Dean Duppa, tutor to Charles II, who removed all the original tracery from the windows, pared down pillars to make his quire stalls fit, and threw out many old tomb slabs when repaving the floor. During the Civil War Oxford was the headquarters of the King, who often came to worship in this church and where many of his followers who fell in battle round about are commemorated by tablets and tombs in the south transept. For very many years owing to the size and importance of the College, the collegiate aspect of the church was emphasized at the expense of the diocesan, but in the time of Dean Liddell (1855–92) the Cathedral was thoroughly restored, and its second function more clearly realized and carried out.

Of men who may claim some public notoriety the Priory produced none, but the combination of Cathedral and College has rejoiced in many well-known names. Men like Fell, Aldrich, Cyril Jackson, Gaisford, and Liddell, in the academic world, and others in a wider field, like Atterbury, Markham, Wilberforce, who said he did not know why he was called " Soapy Sam " except that he was always in hot water but came out with clean hands, William Stubbs, the historian, and Charles Gore ; these, and many others, have left a memory which Oxford Cathedral is proud to cherish.